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As the UN deadline approached on Tuesday for Iraq to pull its troops from Kuwait, President Bush was described as being "at peace with himself," while a group of Iraqis burned a U.S. flag in Baghdad.

## World Braces for War in the Gulf

### Bush Walks Alone Before a 'Defining Moment in History'

By Barry James

In Baghdad, hundreds of thousands of people marched in support of President Saddam Hussein. In Washington, President George Bush went for a walk alone at dawn before a White House conference with his most senior advisers.

Around the world Tuesday, people prepared for the possible coming of war with a sense of foreboding.

Javier Pérez de Cuellar, secretary-general of the United Nations, on Tuesday night issued a final appeal to Iraq to withdraw.

As the hours ticked down to what Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d has called a "defining moment in history," the mood was somber and depressed, strongly colored with anxiety.

People scrambled to get out of the region of likely conflict, and some of those who did not — residents in Gulf countries — taped their windows shut against the risk of poison gas.

In Israel, pilots sat in warplanes, ready to respond in an instant to a preemptive attack.

As Israel placed its forces in the highest state of alert, so did Jordan, fearful it would be drawn into conflict because of its shared borders with both Israel and Iraq.

King Hussein of Jordan said his country would defend itself "at all costs."

President Hussein visited his troops in Kuwait on Monday and Tuesday, Baghdad radio said. He was quoted as saying that his armies were ready for war.

"There will be no compromise on Iraq's and the Arab nation's rights," the radio quoted him as saying.

After midnight eastern standard time Tuesday, the United Nations deadline for Iraq to pull out of Kuwait, the United States and its allies have full authority to use force.

President Bush has warned that force would be massively applied — sooner rather than later.

In London, the government won parliamentary support for the use of military force, similar to the authority President Bush obtained from Congress last week.

Prime Minister John Major, calling Mr. Hussein evil, said economic sanctions against Iraq had been given enough time to work but had proved ineffective while "a tale of unbelievable and sickening cruelty" was continuing in Kuwait.

Neil Kinnock, the opposition leader, pleaded for sanctions to be given more time.

"Iraq can buy nothing. Iraq can sell nothing," Mr. Kinnock said. "The Iraqi economy is being severely impoverished. Iraqi industry is at a standstill."

But he added: "The will of the United Nations must prevail, and Iraq must quit Kuwait completely and unconditionally."

The debate was briefly disrupted when a woman yelling "No war!" threw a container of red paint powder at members of Parliament.

"This is the first time in my life I've heard of an actual deadline for war," said John Levy, a bar owner in New York, as he tuned large-screen television sets to the news.

"It's fascinating, like football or basketball — the anticipation of what would happen in the last seconds, the flurry of last-chance diplomatic activity."

But with the apparent failure of a last-ditch diplomatic effort by France, which, as a precaution, closed its embassy in Baghdad, it seemed inevitable that war would pitch more than one million men and women in the Middle East into battle, and disrupt lives around the world.

On the White House grounds, President Bush walked alone, "just to reflect on the day," his spokesman said. But the spokesman, Martin Fitzwater, said Mr. Bush had made "no decisions yet" on launching an attack. He described the president as being "at peace with himself."

In Baghdad, they danced in the streets with pitchforks and swords. Women carrying AK-47 assault rifles shouted, "We will die for you Saddam."

The state radio said that millions demonstrated for war throughout Iraq. Broadcasts, referring to Mr. Hussein as "Mujahid," or holy warrior, reiterated that Iraq would remain part of Iraq forever and called the UN deadline "the beginning of the end of world imperialism."

It was Iraq's seizure of Kuwait that precipitated the present crisis.

The Iraqi Army newspaper said U.S. troops would be surprised by Iraq's military might — including freshly trained suicide pilots — and warned that "the furnace of hell will be open to the Americans and their allies when they come."

Across the United States, there were prayer vigils, anti-war protests and university "teach-ins" against the war, but the gatherings involved small numbers, nothing on the scale of the Vietnam era. In Joplin, Missouri, a radio station broadcast John Lennon's "Give Peace a Chance" over and over.

Anti-terrorism measures were intensified as nuclear power plants, airports, factories and at Wall Street in Europe.

Demonstrations against war, many of them anti-American in tone, took place in cities all over the world with protesters chanting a common determination not to trade "blood for oil."

Backing Baghdad, about 70,000 demonstrators marched through the narrow streets of San'a, the capital of Yemen, urging Mr. Hussein to "liberate Tel Aviv." A similar pro-Hussein demonstration was held in Amman, the Jordanian capital.

The World Council of Churches in Geneva urged peace, saying it would be wrong to wage catastrophic war in the name of the United Nations.

Cardinal Joseph Bernardini of Chicago said in an Italian newspaper interview that conflict in the Gulf would not fall within the Catholic Church's definition of a "just war."

Palestinians angered by the killing of three leaders of the Palestine Liberation Organization in Tunis defied curfews in the Israeli-occupied territories to demonstrate in favor of Mr. Hussein.

Financial markets around the world were sluggish and in a suspenseful mood. In Tokyo they were closed because of a national holiday known as "coming of age day."

### Bush, 'Reflective and Resolute,' Weighs Options for Assault

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

WASHINGTON — A reflective President George Bush walked the White House grounds at dawn Tuesday and then huddled with his intelligence and national security advisers as Washington braced for a Gulf war.

Martin Fitzwater, the White House press secretary, said Mr. Bush had made "no decisions yet" on launching an assault against the forces of President Saddam Hussein of Iraq.

But the White House said military action was likely "sooner rather than later" if Iraq defied a deadline of midnight eastern standard time (0500 GMT Wednesday) to withdraw from Kuwait.

"There's a concern that as we reach that deadline we reach a point of decision," Mr. Fitzwater said. "Sooner rather than later is probably a ready description."

Mr. Bush met in the Oval Office with his top advisers, including Vice President Dan Quayle; Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d; Defense Secretary Dick Cheney; General Colin L. Powell, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff; and Brent Scowcroft, the national security adviser.

Asked if the United States was now reconciled to war, Mr. Fitzwater said, "I'm sure there will be 11th-hour appeals from all kinds of sources. And we are hopeful that any of them might have an impact and cause him to pull out."

The State Department underscored the U.S. stand that peace was up to Mr. Hussein.

"After all, there is one simple sentence that couldn't have more than 10 words in it that he could announce to the world that says, 'I am withdrawing from Kuwait,'" said Margaret D. Tutwiler, the State Department spokeswoman.

Official Washington sought to maintain an appearance of business as usual Tuesday. But as one State Department official noted at daybreak, "We're all conscious of what day it is."

"It's a day of watching and waiting," a White House official said.

Mr. Fitzwater said the president met his advisers after talking by telephone with Episcopal Bishop Edmund Browning, who has been critical of his Gulf policy, and Richard Halverson, the congressional chaplain.

"He told them both that he had been praying for peace during these troubled times," Mr. Fitzwater said. "He asked them to pray for the country."

"I would say that the president is at peace with himself, ready to make the tough decisions ahead when necessary," the spokesman said.

Mr. Fitzwater said the president planned no last- See BUSH, Page 2

### How Iraq Got to the Brink

Saddam Hussein Strove to Turn Disaster to Advantage

By Patrick E. Tyler

BAGHDAD — President Saddam Hussein has gone to the brink of war with the United States and its allies to get two things he most desires, many analysts believe: recognition from the West and a protected role as the region's preeminent power.

The colossal willpower, stubbornness, or megalomania of the 54-year-old Arab leader — whatever the historians eventually call it — has been a remarkable part of the Gulf crisis that has carried this nation of 17 million to the precipice.

On Tuesday tens of thousands of Iraqis took to the streets to show that they are prepared to march off the cliff with their leader against the same ill-defined Western "arrogance" of which the late Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini of Iran so often complained.

What is the injury, real or perceived, that has driven Mr. Hussein toward the collision with the daunting military alliance that awaits its orders in the Arabian desert?

After scores of interviews and conversations with Iraqis and foreign diplomats in this capital over the last six weeks, the most coherent conclusion also is the most simple and obvious.

Nothing has been going Mr. Hussein's way since the end of the Iran-Iraq war in 1988 and, under mounting economic pressure, he hurled his military power angrily at Kuwait in a gamble that has failed.

Yet Mr. Hussein, determined to turn disaster to advantage, has sought to free himself from the trap Kuwait has proved to be by threatening to pull down the already shaky pillars of Middle Eastern stability unless he get what he wants: a secure role in the region and protection from the neighbors —

See HUSSEIN, Page 2

### Israel Sees Early Air Combat

Commander Warns Jordan to Keep Its Airspace Clear

By Jackson Diehl

TEL AVIV — The commander of the Israeli Air Force, General Avihai Bin Nun, said Tuesday that he expected Israeli warplanes to be drawn into a war with Iraq and warned that as they flew over Jordan to their targets King Hussein would have to choose between inaction and the annihilation of his own air force.

The general's declaration, at a press conference for foreign journalists, came as the Israeli military continued to predict that war in the Gulf was inevitable and imminent. The army cautioned Israelis that a preemptive Iraqi missile strike could come at any time.

Normally bustling streets in Tel Aviv, which President Saddam Hussein of Iraq has specifically threatened to strike at the outset of any conflict, were quiet Tuesday afternoon as many residents stayed home, near their army-issued gas masks and the "war rooms" they have prepared for an emergency.

In an effort to relieve the tension, a few bars near the city's Mediterranean beaches promoted "doomsday parties." Tuesday night for those who wanted to drink or dance through the UN deadline — 7 A.M. local time Wednesday — after which war may begin.

General Bin Nun, who commands Israel's force of more than 600 planes, said he thought there would soon be a war between the United States and Iraq, and he predicted that U.S. air power could do "an excellent job in a very short time to gain superiority and to destroy any target they find over Iraq."

"We are probably going to be involved in some operations," he added. "Probably if we have to fulfill missions over Iraq we will fly over Jordan — there is no other way."

Jordan has said it would resist any move by Israeli aircraft across its territory. Asked about that possibility, General Bin Nun said that in Israel's last two major wars, in 1967 and 1973, Jordan had decided the same question differently, opting to join an Arab fight against Israel in 1967 and avoiding it in 1973.

"In 1967 we had to destroy their See ISRAEL, Page 2

### As Last Peace Effort Collapses, Allies Close Ranks

By Joseph Fitchett

PARIS — Jostling for the last word in diplomacy toward Iraq, Western governments in the international coalition hit discordant notes Tuesday but did not waver in their commitment to force Saddam Hussein out of Kuwait after the UN deadline.

Prime Minister Michel Rocard of France told Socialist members of Parliament on Tuesday that the time had come for action to dislodge Iraqi forces.

Temperaments among allies were frayed, with U.S. and British officials reproaching France for pushing a final peace offer that might have diluted the impression of Western determination and sown doubt on whether to give Iraq more time for discussion.

Although the French proposals were promptly backed by the Soviet Union and Germany and by Italy and other allies with forces in the Gulf, Iraq ignored the overture and Western governments set in motion final preparations for hostilities.

Acknowledging late Tuesday that Paris had obtained "no tangible response" from Baghdad to the French initiative, Foreign Minister Roland Dumas seemed to close ranks with the United States when he said that "starting tomorrow, the situation will have a new aspect." France announced that it was closing its embassy in Baghdad.

The Bush administration has insisted that the deadline Tuesday mark the end of Western initiatives designed to elicit peaceful compliance from Iraq. Although secret diplomacy will not end, even in wartime, Western officials said that Iraq would not be given any chance to negotiate or be offered any international guarantees until it had surrendered Kuwait and accepted other United Nations demands.

In objecting to the French proposals, American and other Western officials said privately that they feared that Iraq, which has single-mindedly defied the UN resolutions, might seize the opportunity to delay a showdown.

The French initiative, which was put forward late Monday at the Security Council, was buried Tuesday when Britain said that it was offering an alternative proposal simply appealing to Iraq to comply with UN demands. France acquiesced.

See DIPLOMACY, Page 2

### Kremlin Appears Ready To Strike at Balts Anew

By Francis X. Clines

MOSCOW — Signs grew Tuesday that the Kremlin was preparing to follow up the military crack-down in Lithuania with similar tactics in the other Baltic states, Latvia and Estonia.

In Vilnius, the Lithuanian capital, the National Salvation Committee, the new pro-Moscow body being used as an apparent front for inviting the Soviet military to intervene, called for direct rule by President Mikhail S. Gorbachev.

It charged that the independence government, which has no army, was preparing to "unleash direct military actions" and "pogroms" against pro-Moscow residents.

Similar calls were heard as well in Latvia and Estonia at pro-Kremlin rallies organized by Communist Party leaders loyal to Moscow.

The Kremlin sought to bolster the case for presidential rule in claiming in a newscast on state-run television Tuesday night that the central authorities had intercepted secret coded instructions for a Lithuanian military plot against them.

The charge, unveiled amid the world's preoccupation with the crisis in the Gulf, echoed pretenses of past Kremlin military interventions in Afghanistan, Czechoslovakia and Hungary.

The net effect was to suggest that Alexander A. Besmertnykh, the Soviet's U.S. envoy, is to succeed Eduard A. Shevardnadze. Page 4.

The White House is considering only mild punitive sanctions against Moscow. Page 4.

advance justification was being attempted by the Kremlin for some major new action.

In the face of this, the Lithuanian independence government focused on making a last defensive stand in Vilnius, digging a deep trench around the parliament and erecting concrete barriers against a feared attack by Soviet tanks.

Demands for the resignation of the democratically elected Latvian See BALTICS, Page 2



Russians protesting Latvia's independence drive Tuesday in Riga.

### Killing of 2 Top PLO Leaders Is Hard Blow, Palestinians Say

By Youssef M. Ibrahim

CAIRO — The slaying in Tunis of two of the highest-ranking leaders of the Palestine Liberation Organization has dealt a heavy blow to the organization, Palestinians inside and outside the group said.

The two men were shot and killed by a renegade bodyguard. One was Salah Khalaf, the closest and most influential aide to the PLO chairman, Yasser Arafat. Mr. Khalaf, known as Abu Iyad, was widely acknowledged as Mr. Arafat's heir. The other victim, Hayel Abdel Hamid, known as Abu al-Hol, was the chief of security of the guerrilla organization.

The PLO has said that a Palestinian, identified only as Abu Zeid, gunned down the two men and a third, Fakhri Omar, who was Mr. Khalaf's chief aide as head of security in the PLO's mainstream Fatah faction.

Suspensions in the killings turned Tuesday toward a renegade Pales-

tinian terrorist group, the Fatah Revolutionary Council, headed by Abu Nidal, whose real name is Sabri Banna and who has lived in Baghdad since he was expelled from Libya a few months ago.

The Palestinians were killed Monday in the home of Mr. Abdel Hamid, where Mr. Khalaf was spending the evening. Palestinian officials in Tunis said by phone.

The PLO already suffers from a serious lack of decision-makers at the top, save for Mr. Arafat and his hard-line spokesman on foreign affairs, Farouk Kaddoumi.

"It is a catastrophe, a catastrophe," said Mohammed Hantza, a PLO official who had served as an aide to another senior leader of the organization, Khalil Wazir, who was assassinated in his home in Tunis on April 16, 1988.

PLO officials said they were still investigating the killings of Mr. Khalaf and Mr. Abdel Hamid. But in a statement Tuesday from Tunis, Mr. Arafat's group came close to

confirming that the killings had occurred because of an internal feud. The group also suggested that Israel may have had an indirect hand in the attack, because Mossad agents are known to have infiltrated the Abu Nidal group long ago.

Israel's defense minister, Moshe Arens, said Israel had had nothing to do with the murders. "I think it is probably the work of some dissident faction of the PLO," Mr. Arens said.

The Arafat group said the assassinations were the work "traitors and collaborators."

El Fatah described the murderer as "an agent who had infiltrated the bodyguard of brother Hayel Abdel Hamid last night at about 2300 hours." The killing took place inside the residence with most of Mr. Abdel Hamid's bodyguards outside.

[The police in Tunis arrested several Palestinians, including a PLO See PLO, Page 2

#### Kiosk Military Awaits Bush's Order

The Pentagon said Tuesday that there were now 415,000 U.S. troops in position near Iraq, along with 265,000 allied soldiers.

"The Department of Defense is ready to execute any order we receive from the president," a Pentagon spokesman, Pete Williams, said in the final hours before the UN deadline. Iraq continued to add to its force of 545,000 troops, he said, stretching defensive lines westward from Kuwait into southern Iraq.

Iraqi forces tightened their defensive positions in Kuwait and increased aircraft training in recent days, U.S. intelligence reports say. (Page 2)

#### General News

Keye Luke, 86, who played the brush son in a dozen Charlie Chan films, has died. Page 4.

Campaign revamping is on both parties' agendas in the new Congress. Page 6.

China had a banner year for elections. Page 6.

Business/Finance  
United Airlines' parent expects a huge loss. Page 11.

World markets slowed to a crawl as the Gulf deadline loomed. Page 11.

Crossword Page 7.  
Weather Page 2.

Dow Jones	The Dollar
Up 6.68	DM 1.542
2,490.58	Yen 186.75
	FF 5.242







THE GULF: Possibility of second strike by Iraq will influence Israel's response if attacked

# Privately, Israelis Tell U.S. They'll Try to Consult on Retaliation Against Baghdad

By Thomas L. Friedman  
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — Although Israel publicly rebuffed an appeal by the Bush administration not to retaliate for any Iraqi missile attack, but to leave that for American forces, the Israelis have privately assured Washington that they will try to consult before taking action, Israeli officials said Tuesday.

Israel has told the Bush administration that it has no intention of launching a preemptive strike against Iraq's missile batteries, but that its response to an unprovoked Iraqi attack on Israel will be based on three factors.

First, an Israeli response would be determined by the extent of damage that an Iraqi missile attack inflicts — whether the missiles land harmlessly in the Mediterranean or in the heart of Tel Aviv.

Second, the response will be determined by

the degree to which the U.S. Air Force is capable of taking out any Iraqi missile launchers that are used to attack Israel. The key point for the Israelis is not whether they absorb a first strike, but that they don't have to absorb a second strike.

Nothing will influence Israel's entry or non-entry into a possible Gulf war more than its assessment of the United States' ability to remove the threat of a second strike, Israeli officials have told Washington.

Finally, the Israeli response will be determined by the impression the government believes might be left on the Arab world if Israel does not retaliate. Israeli officials have told Washington that they will have to consider, when debating whether and how to respond, what impact not responding might have on their long-term deterrence strategy, which is based on the principle: "No one hurts me unharmed."

The U.S. deputy secretary of state, Lawrence S. Eagleburger, met with Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir of Israel on Saturday night. On Sunday, Brent Scowcroft, the national security adviser, stated that the Bush administration was asking the Israelis not to respond to any Iraqi attack — but to let Washington do it — since the only reason Iraq would be attacking Israel would be to draw it into a war and thereby force Washington's Arab allies into leaving the anti-Baghdad coalition. Following Mr. Eagleburger's talks, Moshe Arens, the Israeli defense minister, declared categorically: "If attacked we will respond."

In fact, the real understanding that the Israelis left with Mr. Eagleburger was more nuanced. Israeli officials indicated, Mr. Shamir articulated the three factors that will go into any Israeli response and assured Mr. Eagleburger that in the event of an Iraqi attack, Israel would try to

consult with Washington first before taking any action of its own.

Mr. Shamir also told Mr. Eagleburger that his country does not want to play into Iraq's hands anymore than Washington wants it to, but that ultimately Israel has its own strategic considerations and will have to act in accordance with them.

For obvious reasons, though, the Israelis are not indicating any of these nuances publicly. The message they are sending Iraq right now — partly in hopes of deterring an Iraqi attack — is that Iraq will pay dearly for drawing Israel into a war, under any circumstances.

Bush administration officials apparently have recognized that by asking Israel last week to commit itself to not retaliating they made a major mistake, because they were, in effect, asking Israel to publicly diminish its deterrent and remove some uncertainty from the mind of the Iraqi leader, Saddam Hussein.

The administration moved to remedy that mistake today. When the State Department spokesman, Margaret D. Tutwiler, was asked about how the Eagleburger mission went, she responded: "Of course Israel has the right to defend itself. So does every other state in the world. How any other state defends that right in specific circumstances is, of course, up to it to decide."

Nevertheless, despite this understanding at the political level, Israeli military officials are extremely anxious about the fact that there is still no coordination at the operational level. Washington has resisted Israeli appeals to set up a coordinating mechanism between the American Central Command in Saudi Arabia, and Israel, so that in the event that Israel does decide that it has to respond to an Iraqi attack there will be full coordination and planes won't be attacking the same targets.

Iraq is believed to have an inventory of 400 to

500 surface-to-surface missiles, with ranges of up to 400 miles (650 kilometers), which would encompass all of Israel from launch sites in western Iraq. The Israelis are confirmed to have conventional warheads for these Scud-B Soviet-made missiles, whose ranges have been extended.

Because of the range, however, they can only carry warheads of about 350 pounds — which is the equivalent of only a single small bomb dropped by an airplane, said Michael Eisenstadt, a military research fellow at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy. If these missiles were loaded with chemical warheads, he said, they could only carry relatively small amounts of the toxic agents.

It takes roughly five to six minutes for a missile to fly from Iraq to Israel. It is very difficult to shoot down such a missile in flight with the weapons Israel is known to deploy.

## Worldwide, Marchers Raise a Chorus Against War

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

Anti-war protesters took to the streets around the world Tuesday in hopes of heading off fighting in the Gulf.

In many countries, the demonstrators vented their anger at the United States rather than Iraq, which invaded Kuwait on Aug. 2. About 25,000 students paraded through Milan, marching past the U.S. consulate.

The police said some marchers smashed cars and shop windows, but no serious incidents were reported.

In Madrid, a march drew thousands of students and pacifists, protesting a move toward war in the Gulf and demanding that Spain withdraw three navy warships sent to that region to enforce the UN trade embargo against Iraq.

Organizers of the march, the second in Madrid in three days, said more than 20,000 people took part. The marchers walked behind a banner reading, "Stop the War, Support Deserters."

The police in Paris arrested about a dozen young Communists after they hung a banner across the towers of Notre Dame cathedral. "No to war," was the huge, written message.

Members of a British anti-war movement that includes Labor Party legislators and some labor unions delivered a letter to Prime Minister John Major's office.

The letter said Mr. Major's "belligerent policy" had made "a bloodstained dictator such as Saddam Hussein to appear even as hero to part of the world's population."

Many of the anti-war protesters have said that the United States and the coalition it has assembled to oppose Iraq and its president, Mr. Hussein, should give the economic sanctions more time.

"We gave South Africa years for sanctions to work and nobody suggested going to war," said Bruce Kent, who led Britain's anti-nuclear movement during the Cold War. Paced by the dull thuds of solitary drum, 200 students in Berlin

marched slowly down the Kurfürstendamm shopping avenue.

A sign called on "soldiers of all nations" to refuse to fight against Iraq.

Two thousand young protesters rallied outside the U.S. Army headquarters in Berlin for the second day in a row.

In Frankfurt, about 8,000 students and teachers demonstrated, chanting, "Americans out of the Gulf."

Seventeen Muslims were arrested outside the U.S. Embassy in Cape Town, after they chanted and carried placards denouncing the American military presence in the Gulf.

Thousands of people rallied in major Australian cities for peace in the Gulf. The largest group, about 4,000, gathered in Sydney for an hour-long lunchtime rally outside Town Hall.

Several carried black mock coffins as they marched to the site. Protesters jeered whenever speakers mentioned Prime Minister Bob

Hawke, who has committed three naval ships to the Gulf.

In Hong Kong, about 300 people representing major religious groups, including Protestants, Catholics, Buddhists and Muslims, held a prayer and candlelight vigil Tuesday evening.

Riot police in Seoul broke up a street protest by about 20 medical students who oppose the dispatch of a South Korean military medical team to the Gulf. Seven students were arrested.

The police throughout Pakistan were called out to control anti-American protesters. People took to the streets in two dozen cities and towns where American flags and offices of President George Bush were burned, and the throwing of stones was reported.

Amid threats that American citizens and installations would not be safe if Iraq were attacked, U.S. sources said more than 500 Americans already had already left Pakistan. Washington ordered the dependents of U.S. embassy personnel to leave the country.

The British and the French missions ordered their citizens to keep a low profile, diplomatic sources said, adding that the French cultural centers in Lahore and Peshawar would remain shut Wednesday.

British and French nationals have been advised to be extra vigilant and remain indoors while the heat is on, one diplomat said.

Pakistan is one of the countries that has sent forces to the Gulf to join the allied coalition arrayed against Iraq.

Scores of Indonesian students in Jakarta staged demonstrations in front of the U.S., Iraqi and Saudi Arabian embassies.

In the United States, protests grew increasingly disruptive.

Protesters stopped traffic Monday on the Golden Gate Bridge in San Francisco, which has declared itself a sanctuary for war resisters.

Demonstrators in Washington carrying candles and flowers chanted anti-war slogans outside the White House fence.

(AP, Reuters)

## Americans, in Poll, See a Long and Costly Conflict

By Andrew Rosenthal  
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — A majority of Americans say they are satisfied that President George Bush has done everything he should to prevent war in the Gulf.

But the country remains deeply divided over whether fighting Iraq is the right policy, and most people do not expect the short war with relatively low casualties that Mr. Bush and his officials have talked about, the latest New York Times/CBS News Poll shows.

While the poll suggests that Mr. Bush has been able to maintain public approval for his

handling of the crisis, with 58 percent saying they approve and 33 percent saying they disapprove, it also shows where his political vulnerabilities may lie.

And it provides the most detailed view to date of Americans' gloomy expectations about what a Gulf war would be like.

Most of the 1,512 people who were questioned from Friday through Sunday said they expected the war to last several months to more than a year, to produce thousands of American deaths, and make a major attack by Iraqi agents within the United States likely.

In the end, the greatest political threat to Mr. Bush could come from precisely what he has tried to counter in his public statements: the fear of many Americans, as expressed in interviews conducted after the survey was completed, that war could bring about a repetition of the United States' bitter experience in Vietnam.

Even among those who say Mr. Bush should give economic sanctions more time, 4 out of 10 said they would consider a short war with low casualties worth fighting.

But, at the same time, the poll showed that nearly half of those who said Mr. Bush should act now expressed the view that the

price for getting Iraq out of Kuwait would not be worth paying if a war dragged on with heavy casualties.

The nationwide telephone survey, which carried a possible sampling error of 3 percentage points one way or the other, was conducted after the failure of the Iraqi-American talks in Geneva last Wednesday.

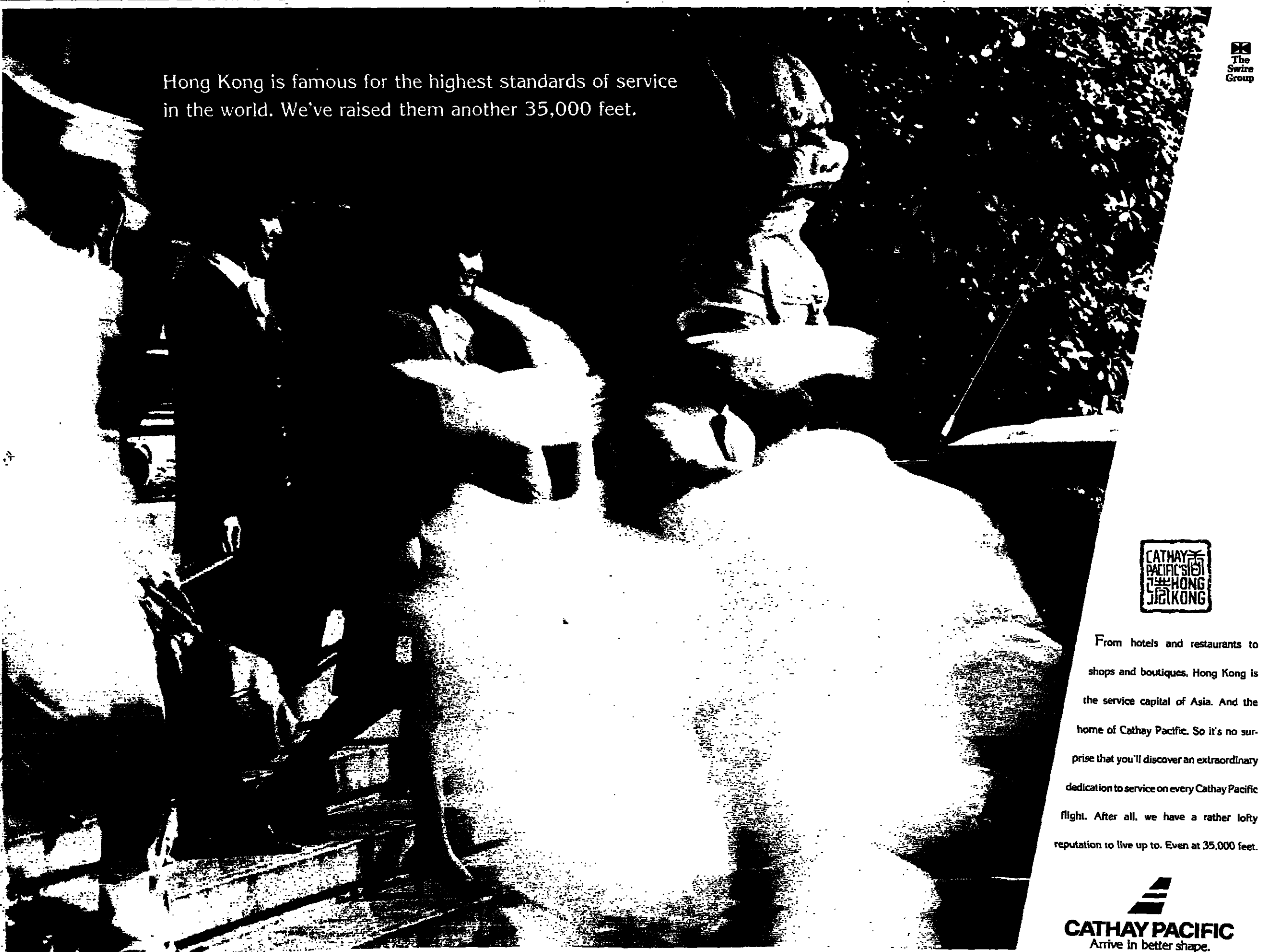
A solid majority, 66 percent, said they expected that the country would end up in a war, an increase of 9 percentage points from a poll conducted a week earlier.

But they were evenly split on whether Mr. Bush should immediately begin hostilities or wait to give economic sanctions more time.



A man praying in St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York during a Mass for peace in the Gulf.

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## Bessmertnykh, Envoy to U.S., Is to Succeed Shevardnadze

By Craig R. Whitney  
New York Times Service

MOSCOW — Alexander A. Bessmertnykh, the Soviet ambassador to the United States, succeeded Eduard A. Shevardnadze on Tuesday as foreign minister and pledged to maintain good relations and to cooperate with the West despite the crackdown in Lithuania.

Mr. Bessmertnykh, 57, a career diplomat and veteran U.S. expert who has spent much of his time in Washington, is well known to senior U.S. officials and to President George Bush. The president has not yet said whether he would postpone a summit meeting planned for Feb. 11 to 13 in Moscow because of the crisis in the Baltic republics and the Gulf. But the Soviet side clearly wants the meeting to go ahead.

By submitting Mr. Bessmertnykh's nomination to the standing Soviet legislature Tuesday, President Mikhail S. Gorbachev was apparently signaling a desire for continued cooperation with both the United States and Western Europe, despite the Soviet leadership's turn to a hard line in the Baltic republics.

"The latest events in the Baltics will inevitably affect our policy," Mr. Bessmertnykh said at a brief news conference after winning an overwhelming vote of confirmation. "We must work out ways to prevent and avoid such things, having in mind their foreign policy aspects as well."

But, he added, "statements, especially in major countries, should pursue a considered policy."

Speaking of the prospect of war in the Gulf, Mr. Bessmertnykh said: "I don't think that the chances for a peaceful solution of the problem have been lost finally." But a Foreign Ministry spokesman later said there was "not much solid reason for hope." The Soviet Union has withdrawn all but 235 of its citizens from Iraq.

The Soviet Union has supported the United States in the Gulf crisis, endorsing the use of force if necessary to get Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait. But it has placed more emphasis than the United States on the need to exhaust every opportunity for a political solution first.

An interview with Yegor M. Primakov, an adviser to Mr. Gorbachev, appeared Tuesday in *Komsomolskaya Pravda*. Mr. Primakov, who was thought to have been in the running for the Foreign Ministry post, suggested that the Soviet policy might come under strain if the United States went to war. Mr. Primakov said that President Saddam Hussein had told him he knew withdrawal from Kuwait was inevitable someday. But, Mr. Primakov said, the Iraqi leader needed to save face.

In a statement, the Foreign Ministry blamed the crisis on Iraq's "stubbornness" and "failure to comply with the norms of international behavior." It asserted that the Soviet Union would support "any constructive steps aimed at preventing armed conflict," possibly including a French initiative at the United Nations on Tuesday.

Mr. Bessmertnykh told the Soviet legislators that his pleasure in being nominated for the job had been allayed by Mr. Shevardnadze's surprise resignation last month in protest against approaching "dictatorship."

Mr. Gorbachev also renominated Boris K. Pugo, the minister of the interior who justified the crackdown in Lithuania on Monday, to the same post in his new presidential cabinet. Mr. Pugo received the legislature's swift approval.

A Communist Party official said last week that Mr. Gorbachev had turned to the police and the army for political support because his policy of economic liberalization was in danger of collapsing in the general disorder.

So the extent of the influence of the new foreign minister on Mr.

Gorbachev is hard to predict. Nominating him, the president described Mr. Bessmertnykh as a "great professional, a person of broad views, refined culture and modesty." He also professed great respect for him.

Mr. Shevardnadze, a supporter from the earliest days of Mr. Gorbachev's struggle to set the Soviet Union on a new course, implied in his resignation speech that he thought his leader was backsliding. Mr. Gorbachev's evident turn to the Soviet internal police and the Red Army, and the wide latitude he apparently gave them to restore order to the troubled Baltic republics, has raised questions about how much influence the Foreign Ministry has, and indeed whether the president is fully in charge of his domestic policy.

Soviet troops rolled into Vilnius on Sunday morning at the request of a Communist-dominated Committee of National Salvation that was to have taken over power from the separatist elected legislature, according to messages broadcast with the army's help throughout Vilnius that day. But since the deaths, the parliament has been neither occupied by the army nor dissolved.

### U.S. Can 'Work With' Him

The White House said Tuesday that it respected and could "work with" Mr. Bessmertnykh. The Associated Press reported from Washington.

The president has known him for a number of years, said the White House press secretary, Marilyn Fitzwater. "He's been very instrumental in shaping U.S.-Soviet relations," Mr. Bessmertnykh has been working on U.S.-Soviet cooperation in the Gulf crisis, the spokesman said.

"We know him well, respect him, can work with him," Mr. Fitzwater said. He said it was not known how Mr. Bessmertnykh might affect policy.



Deputies from the Baltic republics at the Supreme Soviet in Moscow on Tuesday discussing the riots in Vilnius, the Lithuanian capital, before a session started.

## U.S., With Gulf in Mind, Reacts Mildly on Baltics

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

WASHINGTON — The White House decided against a strong initial reaction to the Soviet crackdown in the Baltic republics because it did not want to disrupt the coalition against Iraq, according to U.S. officials.

The administration also wanted

to preserve the relationship that has flourished between Presidents George Bush and Mikhail S. Gorbachev, the officials said.

Consequently, they said, the Bush administration is considering only mild punitive actions, such as possibly suspending technical exchanges, despite pressure from some members of Congress and Baltic-American groups for a stronger U.S. reaction.

The new Soviet foreign minister, Alexander A. Bessmertnykh, appeared to offer Washington assurances Tuesday of his country's intentions in the Gulf when he told the Soviet parliament that "vital interests oblige us to oppose Iraqi aggression."

He said that Soviet backing of the United Nations authorization of force against Iraq was the "correct" policy. "Compromise is sometimes impossible," he said.

Soviet support of the UN resolution is critical for U.S. policy. In Western Europe, following condemnation of the Soviet assault in Lithuania by the North Atlantic

Treaty Organization and the European Community, the 24-nation Council of Europe denounced the crackdown Tuesday and urged a political solution.

In a statement issued by the 24 deputy foreign ministers, who met in Strasbourg, the council urged the Kremlin "to put an end to all acts of violence and to open a dialogue — the only legitimate way to find a solution which takes account of the will of the population."

The statement warned that a continuation of repression would "bring into question the very basis of the cooperation which has been established between the Council of Europe and the Soviet Union."

In Eastern Europe, the Polish foreign minister, Krzysztof Skubiszewski, deflected a suggestion by President Vaclav Havel of Czechoslovakia that Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia consider leaving the Warsaw Pact military alliance immediately to protest the Soviet action in Lithuania, where 14 people were killed on Sunday.

"We must deal with the question

of the Warsaw Pact without further delay, but separately," Mr. Skubiszewski said.

"At the moment, I would not combine the problem of Lithuania with the Warsaw Pact," he told the Polish news agency PAP. "I would rather remain cautious and regulate one problem separately from the other."

In Washington, Marlin Fitzwater, the White House spokesman, said that the U.S. ambassador to Moscow, Jack F. Matlock, had

received high-level assurances from the Kremlin that Mr. Gorbachev was seeking a peaceful solution to the Baltic republics' aspirations for independence.

Some lawmakers have told Mr. Bush that if the administration did not go far enough in its punitive measures against Moscow, they might try to push through legislation that would prohibit export credits to the Soviet Union.

(NYT, AP, UPI, AFP)

## 2 Yugoslav Republics Defy a Warning

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

BELGRADE — The rebellious Yugoslav republics of Slovenia and Croatia, defying warnings of a military crackdown, have refused to disarm their paramilitary forces, the state-run press said Tuesday.

The reports were published as fears grew in the two independence-minded republics of an army crackdown similar to the assault by Soviet forces in Lithuania.

Last week, Yugoslavia's collective presidency ordered the federal army to enforce a decree demanding that all "illegal" paramilitary groups hand in their weapons by Jan. 19.

The army, in a statement carried Tuesday by the state news agency Tanjug, said it was determined to carry out the presidential order.

According to the official press, the order applies to defense militias in Slovenia and Croatia and to Serbs rebelling against republican authority in Croatia. The Belgrade daily Borba said that none of the groups have indicated they would willingly surrender arms before the deadline expires Saturday.

Belgrade radio reported, however, that Serbs in the Knin area of Croatia would begin surrendering weapons to the military on Wednesday. The Knin area, the largest Serbian enclave in

Croatia, declared autonomy in October, created a parallel government and formed a security force of mutinous police and civilian vigilantes.

In a separate development Tuesday, Slovenian officials dismissed a ruling by the Yugoslav Constitutional Court annulling the republic's declaration of sovereignty.

In a decision Monday, the court ruled the July declaration to be unconstitutional. After the decision was announced, the Slovenian leadership met in urgent session to discuss possible countermeasures to any army crackdown. (AP, UPI)



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— hand delivery Barcelona Pes.	38,000	25,700	20,900
— hand delivery Madrid Pes.	54,800	—	27,300
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## And Now, a Word From Our Sponsor

After Vilnius, Glasnost Fades Out of Media as Voice of the State Moves In

By Esther B. Fein  
New York Times Service

MOSCOW — Yelena Trifanava turned on her television to hear the latest news about events in Lithuania and, she said, she felt as if she had stepped back in time, to the years before Mikhail S. Gorbachev became the Soviet leader and began encouraging honest and truthful reporting.

The announcer described the army's killing of pro-independence demonstrators in the Lithuanian capital, Vilnius, as a defensive action. The story he told was completely different from what she had heard earlier in radio reports by the BBC, Radio Liberty and the Voice of America.

"There was another victim this weekend, aside from the poor people who were killed in Lithuania," said Miss Trifanava, a Moscow teacher. "After listening to the official news reports, it is clear that glasnost and objectivity were also killed. Last night I heard the announcer begin to read, and I thought, 'This man is simply an actor and this is like a script from 10 years ago.'"

In the years of glasnost, Mr. Gorbachev's openness campaign, Soviet press reports have generally improved in objectivity. But such truthfulness often seems to dissipate in times of stress and controversy, as in the overall, official reporting of the events in Vilnius.

In its coverage of the army attack in Lithuania early Sunday, a senior Western diplomat

said, "The official Soviet media has once again resorted to the Big Lie."

The diplomat, who has been closely monitoring events in the Baltics, added, "If you say it loud enough and often enough, you can convince people that your lie is the truth. This is a great tool from the old Soviet media handbook and it's clearly being put to use here."

The most prominent and egregious flouting of the truth came in the main Sunday evening news broadcast, *Vremya*, that Miss Trifanava and millions of other Soviet citizens watched.

The anchorman, Dmitri Biryukov, told viewers that the Lithuanian president, Vytautas Landsbergis, had accused Mr. Gorbachev of reneging on his promises not to use force.

"But unfortunately," Mr. Biryukov went on, "the chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet failed to make clear that fire was opened outside the television and radio building not by troops but by Sejimas guards" — a reference to the main Lithuanian pro-independence movement.

Mr. Biryukov's version of the events completely contradicted reports by Western journalists in Vilnius, who saw Soviet troops shoot at unarmed crowds and tanks crush peaceful demonstrators who had surrounded the local television transmitter in an effort to prevent its takeover by the military.

"It is a shame what's going on on television," said Sergei B. Stankevich, deputy mayor of Moscow and a member of the national Con-

gress of People's Deputies. "There is no doubt that the state TV is being run with an iron hand with no eye toward the truth. The situation is very disappointing."

The chairman of Gostelradio, the state broadcasting authority, denied that his programs had done anything but report the "objective facts" of what happened in the Lithuanian capital.

"Television should not be radicalized, either to the right or to the left," said the Gostelradio chief, Leonid P. Kravchenko. "It should report straightforward and honestly, without taking sides."

And, he was asked, who gets to determine what is radical and what is middle-of-the-road objectivity?

"I do," he said. The official press agency, Tass, also abandoned any claim to objectivity in its news dispatches from Lithuania, publishing such assertions as, "There is no doubt that all these casualties are fully on the conscience of the present leadership of Lithuania and Sejimas."

Tass and other major Soviet news organizations, including the Communist Party daily *Pravda* and the broadcast news, have displayed no effort to determine who is behind the National Salvation Committee, the shadowy group that declared it had seized power in Lithuania from the parliament.

Soviet troops carried out their attack Sunday in the committee's name, but its members refuse to identify themselves.

## Keye Luke, Son in Chan Films, Dies at 86

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

WHITTIER, California — Keye Luke, 86, who played the brawny son in a dozen Charlie Chan films and a Chinese herbalist in Woody Allen's latest film, "Alice," died here Saturday after a stroke.

Mr. Luke also portrayed the gentle Zen master in the TV series "Kung Fu" dispensing wisdom to a student he addressed as "Grasshopper."

Mr. Luke was born in Guang-

hou, China, and was raised in Seattle. He was launched on his movie career while working as a billboard designer in a Hollywood studio in the early 1930s when a director said he needed an English-speaking Chinese actor for a film with Greta Garbo, "The Painted Veil."

He started the Charlie Chan series in 1935 and also acted with Clark Gable in "Somewhere I'll Find You" and with Humphrey Bogart in "Across the Pacific." He

was one of the industry's most successful Asian-American actors.

Mr. Luke appeared in more than 150 films, playing one of detective Chan's sons in 13. His other credits included "The Good Earth," "Love Is a Many Splendored Thing" and, more recently, "Just You and Me, Kid" and "Gremlins."

(AP, Reuters)

Sir Robert Jackson, 79, Ex-UN Undersecretary NEW YORK (NYT) — Sir Robert

Jackson, 79, a former undersecretary-general of the United Nations, died of a stroke Saturday in London, the UN said Monday.

Sir Robert, an Australian, was an international administrator and consultant. He served the United Nations — and the governments of Australia, India, Pakistan and other countries — in many capacities over the years. He was UN undersecretary-general from 1972 until his retirement in 1987.

## Latest Anti-Cholesterol Weapon: Rice Bran Oil

The Associated Press

SAVANNAH, Georgia — Two tablespoons of rice bran oil a day may cut harmful cholesterol levels by 30 percent and help keep arteries from getting clogged, experiments with monkeys indicate.

The oil can also raise so-called good cholesterol, which helps prevent heart disease, said Robert Nicolosi, a biochemist who is director of the division of cardiovascular research at the University of Lowell in Massachusetts.

Mr. Nicolosi cautioned against a run on buying the oil like the one that followed preliminary findings that oat bran could lower cholesterol.

"Don't come away with the idea that rice bran oil is a magic bullet," Mr. Nicolosi said Monday at the annual science writers' meeting of the American Heart Association.

Nevertheless, he said, rice bran oil — which is colorless and tasteless and can be used on salads and in cooking — appears to have benefits that other foods do not.

Rice bran oil, which is widely used in Japan, may be unique in lowering low-density lipoprotein, the bad cholesterol, without lowering high-density lipoprotein, the good cholesterol that helps clear the bloodstream, he said.

Mr. Nicolosi fed a group of monkeys a healthy diet containing rice bran oil. Another group got the equivalent of a typical American diet containing more fat than nutritionists recommend.

Depending upon the amount of rice bran oil the monkeys consumed, Mr. Nicolosi found drops of 20 percent to 30 percent in their harmful cholesterol. In some cases he found a slight increase in good cholesterol.

If rice bran oil turns out to have the same effect in human beings, people would need to consume less than two tablespoons a day to get the benefits.

"I've asked the rice industry to go slow," Mr. Nicolosi said. "We don't want another oat bran fiasco."

A study suggesting that oat bran could lower cholesterol led to the rapid appearance of oat bran in crackers, cereals and many other foods over the years. He was UN undersecretary-general from 1972 until his retirement in 1987.

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# STAGE/ENTERTAINMENT

International Herald Tribune  
Wednesday, January 16, 1991  
Page 7

## LONDON THEATER



Shion Abdillah (Abel) and Adrian Beaumont (Cain) in "Children of Eden."

## How to Render Bible As Pedestrian Musical

By Sheridan Morley  
International Herald Tribune

LONDON — One of the many problems facing "Children of Eden" at the Prince Edward, quite apart from a title that might have worked better as "Raisers of the Lost Ark" so that I could at least stop thinking of it as more "Children of a Lesser God," is that there would appear to be no book. Or at least there is a book, the Good Book, but one so full of random tales from the Bible that its creators have been uncertain about which to tell us. Of those creators, Stephen Schwartz was also the composer of "Godspell" and therefore knows a thing or two about biblical singalongs, albeit of the hippie "Hair" generation of the 1960s, while John Caird co-directed "Les Misérables" and "Nicholas Nickleby" with Trevor Nunn for the RSC and therefore knows a bit about how to marshal huge crowds center stage.

But as with the current "Freudiana" in Vienna, the other epic Eurymusical that launches the new year, this is a "concept" show that is another way of saying that despite the \$2 million to \$3 million spent on scenery and lighting, nobody thought it worthwhile to employ a writer. As a result, four dramatic highlights (the Creation, the Garden of Eden, the killing of Cain and the building of the Ark) are lifted from the Old Testament and elegantly staged to no evident end, unless it is the rather slender conclusion that the Bible is full of dominating parents and rebellious children who eventually come home to big-daddy divinity.

There are one or two good numbers here, and some equally strong performances from Kevin Colson as Noah, Ken Page as a huge black God and Frances Ruffelle as the girl thrown off the Ark for having the wrong parentage. But, devoid of any overall purpose, "Children of Eden" adds up in the end to little more than "Godspell" on a bigger budget: Caird's spectacular staging cannot disguise a desperate lack of central vision.

Not so much a plot show as an encyclopaedic revivalist pageant, the musical has a splendid set by John Napier and several ingenious animal acts. But once you have seen 30 actors going two by two into an ark you have more or less got this waterlogged message, and lines like "If I'm Adam you must be Eve" and "These dinosaurs are getting to be a nuisance" do not herald the arrival of a pater-day Alan Jay Lerner. As a quasi-biblical song cycle "Children of Eden" has its rare moments, usually involving a cast of 70 full of sound and fury but signifying very little beyond a children's guide to favorite religious highlights from before the Ark.

Asked a quarter of a century ago what his

plays might actually be about, Harold Pinter replied grumpily that they were concerned as always with "the vessel beneath the cocktail cabinet." Critics of the period, eager not to suggest that the king had no clothes, were willing to read a vast subtext of symbolism into "The Homecoming" but the original director, Peter Hall, returning now to the play for an anniversary revival at the Comedy, seems to have decided that it works best as a black farce about a cockney family staying together in order to prey together.

Warren Mitchell plays the paterfamilias whose sons turn their eager sister-in-law to prostitution, but Hall's staging seems to be as influenced by the recent movie "The Krays" as by any desire to redefine the truly Pinteresque. An East End soap-opera is the result, but one quite magnificently played by Nicholas Woodeson as the Mafia pimp and Cherie Lunghi as the complaisant whore.

In a nostalgic if not revisionist new year the National Theatre's touring troupe is re-visiting, at the Cottesloe, Dario Fo's "Accidental Death of an Anarchist," first seen over here a decade ago and written 10 years before that as a manic farce about police corruption in Milan.

The current production updates the play's ending to include references to the Gulf and Birmingham police scandals of more recent and local times, but Tim Supple's staging is uneasily caught between conflicting styles, unable to choose between anger and anarchy. Alan Cumming (who has also adapted the text with the director) as the Madman and Tim Potter as the leader of his increasingly confused captors do manage to suggest a corporate energy derived from small-scale touring, rather than infrequent repertoire nights on the South Bank.

At the Royal Court, Sharran Macdonald's "All Things Nice" is another of her explorations of Scottish female angst, this one centering on three generations of mothers and daughters in emotional trauma. There's the teen-age Moira discovering boys out of class, her fatherless mother coming to terms with expatriate adultery and, more chillingly, a grandmother apparently willing to make home for an elderly male lodger who wishes to molest her own granddaughter, a desire taken in this play to be all part and parcel of what women can expect if they are careless enough to be born into a man's world.

Max Stafford-Clark's production has a gloomy authenticity, and Macdonald's writing, here as in her earlier "When I Was a Girl," has a poetic awareness of women on the borderlines of adulthood and adultery, forever waging an undeclared war against their men for better terms on which to guarantee their survival.

## New! The International French Movie

By Joan Dupont

PARIS — A new kind of French production is being fashioned for the foreign market — the period epic, with international stars speaking in strange accents. "Le Brasier," made in Poland, Belgium and France, speaks French and Polish. "Milena," a French-German-Canadian coproduction, was shot in Czechoslovakia, in English.

But Claude Berri, who adapted Marcel Pagnol's "Jean de Florette," cannily sticks to grass roots, this time with Marcel Aymé's "Uranus," and amid the superproductions "La Discrete," a "small" all-French film, upticks in and steals hearts.

"Le Brasier" (produced by Jean-François Lepetit, release Jan. 30 by Warner Bros.). Eric Barbier spent five years making this ambitious first film, based on a historic confrontation in the coal mines of northern France. In 1934, Polish immigrant workers went on strike, cutting off phones and elevators, holding French miners hostage, which resulted in jail and expulsion for 200 Poles. Barbier's script, inspired in part by Emile Zola's "Germinal," is set in a Polish family during the early '30s. Pavlak, the father, is a bear of a man who boxes to make ends meet. His son Victor goes against the community code when he falls in love with Alice, a Frenchwoman. Outlawed, he becomes the leader of the Poles' revolt, while his father is used by French politicians to pry the rebels out of the ground with false promises.

Barbier plants his camera in the core of the earth and films the racial tensions and the terrifying common plunge down the shaft. There is as much drama aboveground as the miners' ball where Victor meets Alice, in the boxing matches and knifings, rapes and accidents. The atmosphere is clogged with Dolby sound, fury, and so much soot that key scenes are hard to decipher.

Jean-Marc Barr, a French-American actor, is Victor; Dutch-born Maruschka Detmers plays Alice, and a prodigious Russian actor, Vladimir Kozlov, is Pavlak.

"Milena" (produced by Stephan Films / Les Films L'Amantie Inc. Canada / Bavarian Films, released by UGC).

Milena Jesenska, Kafka's Czech translator, was one of the extraordinary women of her time. A champion of human rights and a militant journalist, she defied the tide of rising anti-Semitism and the Nazi occupation; she was sent to the camps, where she died in 1944. The passionate correspondence between Milena and Franz Kafka has been published, and she is the subject of a biography by Margarete Buber-Neumann (a fellow prisoner at Ravensbrück), who described her



Jean-Marc Barr and Maruschka Detmers star in Eric Barbier's ambitious first film, "Le Brasier."

as "a free woman" to the end. Now, Vera Belmont has made the movie.

Milena went against her domineering father and ditched medical studies for the Café Arco, where she met Prague's German-Jewish literary. Belmont's film takes us through her encounters with remarkable men, and disastrous marriages, an illness that left her crippled and dependent on morphine, years of poverty, and bouts of depression.

Valérie Kaprisky plays this complex woman. Dressed by couturière Hanae Mori, she looks charming in hat and veil, boasting down the Viennese, in capes at the opera in Vienna, and in tomboy caps at Communist rallies. But Milena was no mere coquette — one contemporary said she looked like "six volumes of Dostoevsky." Intellectual fire is not in Kaprisky's arsenal, and the rhythms of this English-language production defeat her at times.

Most of the other actors are American, but they, too, seem to grope with the language. Peter Gallagher plays Ernst Polak. Milena's philandering first husband, Stacy Keach plays her father and Philip Anglim plays Kafka, victim of an awkward scene in which Milena discovers that it was easier making love to him by letter.

"Uranus" (produced by Renn Films / Film A2 / D.D. Productions, released by AMLF).

Claude Berri's first film was "Le Vieil Homme et l'Enfant" (1966), a nostalgic fable about a Jewish boy hidden by peasants during the occupation. "Uranus," adapted from Marcel Aymé's satirical novel, is a cruel fable. After the war, Aymé, who had written in the collaborationist press and defended French fascist authors, came in for his share of accusations. "Uranus" was his answer.

It is spring 1945 and the purge is on. In a series of skits, using a dozen of France's top actors, Berri uncovers the anatomy of a country village, razed by bombs, as the good people are hurriedly removing pictures of Marshal Pétain from their mantels.

The cast of all-star caricatures is made up of turncoats, cowards, informers and hypocrites. The respectable Archambaud (Jean-Pierre Marielle) has to share quarters with a Communist worker (Michel Blanc), and also shelters a ferret-faced collaborator, Loin (Gérard Desarthe), who has been hiding in cellars. Most odious of all is Mongiat, the profiteer, played by Michel Galabru. Gérard Depardieu as Leopold, the versifying barman, delicious

on white wine and Racine, is a hero among rogues — a part he relishes to the hilt.

"La Discrete" (Les Productions Lazennec, released by Pan Européenne).

Christian Vincent had made a first film that bears the earmarks of an Eric Rohmer comedy. He has chosen Fabrice Luchini, a Rohmer actor, as Antoine the libertine, and an intriguing new face, Judith Henry, as Catherine, La Discrete.

Jilted by his mistress, Antoine is coaxed into a literary revenge by his manipulative editor. He is to seduce a girl, any girl, and write it up in his diary for publication. Once the plan works, he will leave her.

Catherine is an enigmatic wise child, gawky and provincial. She is not La Coquette, La Galante, or La Passionnée, just La Discrete — small potatoes. It turns out that discreet Catherine hides mysterious treasures, and Antoine is caught in his own trap. Played out in cafes and bookshops adjoining the Luxembourg Garden, this is a very Parisian human comedy.

Joan Dupont is a Paris-based writer specializing in the arts.

## More Than Ever, Pop Is Disposable Product

By Jon Pareles  
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — No one ever became a musician for the job security — at least, no one with a glimmer of sanity. But in recent years, it seems the length of the average pop career is dwindling fast. The 1980s and 1990 brought record sales to new peaks while the performers themselves tended to flash and burn out.

A singer-songwriter like Edie Brickell can sell 2.5 million copies of her first album, in 1989, and watch her second, in 1990, fail to reach the Top 30, while a rapper like L. L. Cool J. finds himself trying to make a comeback only five years after his debut.

Fan loyalty, never the most dependable sentiment, has become an aberration, available to groups on the fringes but almost nonexistent in the pop mainstream. More than at any time since the 1950s, pop has become unashamedly disposable, something to be savored for its momentary thrill and discarded like any other fashion accessory.

Which of the performers who emerged during the 1980s will be able to hold onto an audience past a few dud singles? Sinead O'Connor, because her unrelenting contradictions can still jolt; George Michael, if his new-found pomposity doesn't last; Whitney Houston, if her producers stay hip; Anita Baker, as long as she provides dependable romantic raptures; Public Enemy, with its determination to provoke thoughtful argument. Living Colour? R. E. M.? De La Soul? U2? Metallica? Survival won't be easy.

Madonna is now considered a show-business veteran because she has held on for all of eight years. And most of the rest of the current pantheon are either long in the tooth — like Neil Young, whose fans will wait a decade between satisfying albums, Bruce Springsteen, Prince and AC/DC — or are unlikely to survive their current fans' high-school graduation. The power-balled crooners, dance-pop chipmunks and rap boosters who monopolize MTV can, and will, be replaced fast. It's hard to imagine people rushing, a few years



Edie Brickell's second record was far less successful than her first.

from now, to buy the digital audio tape reissue of the Nelson album that's selling so well at the moment.

Disposability has always been part of pop's appeal: a three-minute song can capture an ephemeral feeling or a snappy little lick, share it with the world and then drift into memory. Some performers deserve their one-hit wonder status; very few have much to say beyond a fifth album.

Yet from the mid-1960s to the emergence of punk and disco in the late 1970s, the album emerged as an artistic unit often enough to convince fans to listen from start to finish. Rock radio stations came up with "album-oriented rock," which briefly introduced songs that weren't singles. Punk returned the focus to the short and noisy song. Disco concentrated on the physical moment

when a song makes a body move. Videos on MTV also emphasized singles. As the 1980s progressed (or regressed), the individual song returned as the pop unit — so much so that in 1990, record companies would sometimes stop pressing a hit single to force fans to buy the album it was on. The album era had ushered in the notion of the rock singer as an artist who is worth paying attention to for more than the length of a hit. Performers could become vivid presences to their fans even when they weren't ubiquitous on the Top 40, and royalties were formed that continue to the present for some performers of the 1960s and 1970s, from the Kinks to Michael Jackson to Sting.

Pop stars develop staying power when listeners' affection and fascination is transferred from a hit song, or a string of hits, to the

singer. Successive songs become a kind of narrative, held together by the image of and fantasies about the performer; together, singers and fans create a kind of continuity.

That continuity has taken a beating over the last decade. Record companies that want immediate blockbusters are unwilling to wait an album or two for a band's audience to develop; they depend on outlets that play nothing but hits.

Meanwhile, marketing costs (like the price of video clips) are too high to encourage long-term investments; if audience loyalty and longtime stars are the infrastructure of pop, the record business is in the position of cities that have been patching instead of rebuilding.

Bands, meanwhile, gear themselves for specific market niches. Some ignore the fact that the more generic their music, the easier it is for someone else to fill the niche; others, like the waning kiddie-pop idols New Kids on the Block, cash in as heavily as they can.

Record buyers, too, have changed. Pop hits are so incessantly marketed, in video clips that look like advertisements, that fans might be expected to think of them as analogous to the candy bar or pair of sneakers seen in similar commercials — something to use up and forget. The possibility that a hit would prove durable or renewable seems remote; another one will be along soon.

The increasingly synthetic sound of new pop also takes its toll on audience loyalty. In the past, fans have grown attached to a particular voice and to the virtuosos who personalized a certain approach to guitar or forged a band sound. Such virtuosity (or the anti-virtuosity of, say, Bob Dylan's singing) has individual fingerprints on it; only one musician or a certain ensemble can make it happen, so a listener who's attached to the sound is also attached to the performer.

By concentrating too much on the quick cash flow of disposable hits, the record business may be entering a vicious circle. As more money is spent on marketing fewer hits, and those hits are promoted purely for the moment, eventually the audience may not care at all about the singer or the song.

**ACROSS**

1 Editor's annotation

5 City in N Italy

10 Memorable comic Roscoe

14 Faulkner's Varner

15 Case or well precursor

16 L. Frank Baum's Dorothy

17 Highway headache

19 "Non, je ne regrette...": Piaf

20 Commonplace

21 Maupassant's "Bel..."

22 Edison's middle name

23 Actor Carliou Varner

24 Annual event at frats

26 Rod for Capone

28 Time for vacances

30 A.D.s, to the P.D.

31 Ice cream, in Pisa

33 "Eine... Nachtmusik"

36 Kind of maid

37 Yule trio

40 Night sound

42 "The Untouchables" hero

43 Farm units

45 Landlopers

47 He suits people

48 Pedro's uncle

50 Succor

53 Subjoin

54 Some Rounders

57 "Foucault's Pendulum" author

58 Vale

60 Fur scarf

61 Kind of boom

62 Melville book

64 Tunnel entrance at rush hour

67 Bogie role

68 Febrero precursor

69 Tessera

70 Munro's pen name

71 Copal is one

72 River in Europe

**DOWN**

1 Liquidate

2 Gunner's enclosure

3 Tennyson's "lily maid"

4 T.R.'s successor

5 Chi's follower

6 F.A.A. airport service

7 Indian prince

8 Dolphins' home

9 Fortifying

10 Pearl Mosque site

11 Kind of picnic

12 Exalts

13 Gore and Gram

16 Not domesticated

25 Gee-tars' kin

26 Valentine, e.g.

27 Scarcab or cameo

32 It focuses light rays

33 Baltic-North Sea canal

34 Eur. land

35 Musa with a lyre

37 Aruzza and Manolete

38 Professor's milieu

39 Urban impasse

41 Discharge

44 Topor

46 Oater group

48 Kind of stamp

49 Virgil epic

51 Yule hanger

52 L.L.A. member

53 TV's Arledge

56 "Psycho" psycho

59 Norse god of strife

62 Aware of

65 Cycle precursor

66 Cambodia's — Not

**Solution to Previous Puzzle**

H	E	M	P	K	A	P	A	M	A	Y	O
A	R	E	A	O	E	O	S	A	V	O	N
M	I	S	S	O	H	L	S	C	O	R	E
S	E	A	T	T	L	E	S	E	A	H	A
E	A	R	T	O	R						
A	M	A	L	G	A	M		A	L	L	O
S	O	L		B	A	I	L	E	N	A	T
T	S	T	O	R	N						
T	H	O	R	N							
S	T	A	I	R	S						
T	O	S									
T	O	R	O	N	T	O					
O	V	E	R								
D	E	S	T								
O	N	T	O								

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## Principles and Interests

### Saddam Is to Blame

The imminence of war in the Gulf has pressed Americans into several camps. Some are pacifists who oppose ever using force. Many are impatiently eager to punish, and incapacitate, Saddam Hussein. Still others accept last weekend's decision by Congress to support the president's Jan. 15 deadline but urge that the vote be understood as authorizing war, not ordering it. Whether people regard war with a sense of horror, a sense of justice or merely a sense of duty, they deeply feel differences deserve respect.

What deserves no such respect, however, are the slogans and moralizing increasingly heard in place of reasoned argument. Why, for example, do some hawks insist, against the evidence, that war can be conducted by painless "surgical" strikes? Why do some doves insist on denouncing the response but not the brutal Iraqi crime that prompts it?

Those in the minority who oppose to war can best honor their cause by not caricaturing the views of the majority. To assert that the five-month-old Gulf crisis is "only" about oil is as simplistic as arguing that Saddam's rape of Kuwait is somehow less offensive because the emirate was not a democracy.

Stability of oil prices and supplies is of vital concern to all, to poor nations as well as rich, to India and Brazil as well Japan

and Europe. Iraq's aggressive agenda could make a single unscrupulous tyrant the master of the world's main energy tap. Saddam has amply advertised his ruthlessness. He waged unprovoked war against Iran, gassed his own people and connived and bribed to develop nuclear and chemical weapons.

This was the prelude to the invasion, pillage and annexation of a small neighbor whose sovereign status had been acknowledged by every Arab state — including Iraq, which did so explicitly in 1963. To acquiesce in this aggression would mock the United Nations charter. Citing past failures to uphold world law cannot possibly justify the forcible extinction of an entire nation.

It is a matter for reasonable argument whether misguided U.S. policy contributed to Saddam Hussein's rise, and to the excessive Western reliance on imported oil. People can differ as well on whether President George Bush erred in his November decision to double the U.S. force in Saudi Arabia, transforming Desert Shield into Desert Storm. What cannot be disputed is that blame for this crisis lies in Baghdad rather than in Washington, and that the keys to avoiding a conflagration are in Saddam's pocket.

Principles, and vital interests, have compelled the United States, and many other countries, to send forces to the Gulf.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES

### Last-Minute Efforts

What frail and fast-fading chances have remained for a political way out of the Iraq crisis have hinged on the several Arab emissaries in Baghdad. They apparently brought no new diplomatic twists, but they have one distinction: They are Arabs. All along, the theory of an "Arab solution" has been that since Saddam Hussein insists that the matter of Kuwait is exclusively an Arab issue, he might offer Arab mediators concessions that he would not consider making to others. By this hopeful and unproven theory, it was no surprise that President Saddam Hussein humiliated (making him wait a day for an audience) and then repudiated the mediation of the secretary-general of the United Nations; he dismisses the United Nations as a front for the United States.

Even as the secretary-general vainly sought political restraint in Baghdad, American officials solicited military restraint in Jerusalem, attempting to make sure that Israel would not preempt and that, if it did feel compelled to respond to the strike that Iraq had malevolently threatened, it would do so in due proportion. It is a remarkable request that the United States has made, one that it could not conceivably make without giving an ironclad commitment to

respond for Israel if Israel is attacked. Yet it is an essential request, one made to undercut Baghdad's professed intent instantly to "Zionize" the war and split the anti-Saddam coalition. By rejecting Saddam Hussein's demand to be bought out of Kuwait at Israel's expense, Washington earns a most respectful hearing. American-Israeli friendship is being tested as never before.

These last-minute missions were intended to avert and, if that failed, to control the shape of war. But everyone must know that there is no predicting the content of unfolding events in the layers of possible outcome — to cite the single index necessary of greatest immediate concern to Americans — the final toll in human lives.

What can be said is that the American government went into the countdown having done what it took to secure unprecedented broad international and domestic approval. President George Bush asked for and received the aware consent of most other nations in the world and of most members of both houses of the U.S. Congress. These constitute the basic essential standards for American intervention forged in the fires of the Vietnam War. They let American policy an important measure of authority as a terrible hour neared.

—THE WASHINGTON POST

## Suspend Aid to Moscow

Washington can deal with, but no longer support, a government in Moscow that forcibly suppresses a democratically elected government in Lithuania.

Mikhail Gorbachev bears responsibility for the weekend brutality in Vilnius. Whether or not he personally ordered the troops to use force, he knew the consequences of allowing the Defense Ministry to dispatch troops to the republics. True, he is under pressure from reactionaries to crush the rebellious republics. Lithuanian nationalists did not help by rejecting pragmatic compromise and continuing martyrdom. But for Mr. Gorbachev to wash his hands of the violence in Vilnius, as he did on Monday by blaming local military commanders, is a case of implausible denial.

President George Bush has sound reasons to keep talking to Mr. Gorbachev — but no sounder than his reasons for expressing America's angry disapproval of the violence. His dutiful condemnation needs to be backed up with action. That means suspending the food and other aid so recently promised the Soviet Union. That aid was given to help the Soviet people through hard times and sustain their support for reform. But above all it was given to support Mr. Gorbachev. His actions in Lithuania make him unworthy of that support.

He may be orchestrating disaster. Trying to repress Lithuania will only exacerbate the predicament he has faced since taking office five years ago. Non-Russian republics question the right of a Russian-dominated center to rule. Many have democratically elected governments that resent the decrees of an unelected Soviet president. Mr. Gorbachev will probably not succeed in substituting force for legitimate author-

ity. Curbing chaos is one thing, but he does not have a large enough army to reimpose direct rule throughout the Soviet Union. Any attempt to do so would merely hasten the explosion of nationalist tensions.

A cutoff of American aid would make clear to Mr. Gorbachev, in a way that mere words will not, that only a reforming government in Moscow, not a repressive one, warrants U.S. and Western support. Only if he responds a dialogue with elected leaders in the republics and withdraws the forces dispatched to repress them should the aid be resumed.

Some Americans want to go further and undermine him, even to encourage a breakup of the Soviet Union. That would only play into the hands of reactionaries, who help the reformers.

Other Americans want to call off next month's summit meeting in Moscow. But it is against American interests to do that now. Washington needs to gauge whether Moscow's change of course extends to foreign policy. If Mr. Gorbachev no longer intends to pursue mutual accommodation with the West, or no longer can impose his will on those in Moscow who oppose such accommodation, now is the time to find out.

If Mr. Gorbachev cannot help conclude a strategic arms accord and satisfy concerns about Soviet institution of the treaty to cut conventional forces in Europe, the summit meeting is not worth holding. But if he can deliver on these vital agreements, then it is still essential for Mr. Bush to go to Moscow on Feb. 11, assess the disturbing events firsthand and speak frankly to Mr. Gorbachev about repression. Face to face no longer has to mean side by side.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES

## Other Comment

### Gorbachev's Tiananmen

What happened outside the Vilnius television tower center was a replay of Tiananmen. Although there were fewer casualties, it was a massacre, plain and simple. Very likely, Mikhail Gorbachev hopes that the weekend's military action will cow the Lithuanians and other republics, all of which have also declared their independence or sovereignty, into a more accommodating frame of mind. Just as likely, he is wrong. At worst, it could trigger widespread rebellion across the country. At best, he will have a sullen population on his hands who can no longer believe in

perestroika or glasnost. It is a victory for the reactionaries yearning for the pre-Gorbachev, pre-reforms era.

—The Straits Times (Singapore)

In terms of global geopolitics, the case of Lithuania might seem insignificant. What makes the latest developments in that small Baltic republic so unfortunate for Mikhail Gorbachev, however, is that the blatant annexation of Kuwait by Iraq last August has heightened the sentiments of the Western world against heavy-handed actions, such as applied by Moscow in the past few days.

—The Jakarta Post

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## Blame in the Gulf: A Big Lie Is Gaining Ground

By Flora Lewis

PARIS — There has been a disturbing surge of anti-Americanism in Europe, especially in France, as countdown to the UN deadline ends. Classical pacifism holding that there is never a reason to fight is merged and confused with the belief that there is no reason to fight the forces of Saddam Hussein. It's the United States' fault if the war comes, in this view.

As in the United States, the terrible prospect of war in the Gulf has brought a peculiar convergence of parts of the left and the right, but for different reasons.

American right-wing critics are moved by a reversion to isolationism now that their target of preference, Soviet communism, has withdrawn from the battlefield. Perhaps they will shift again if events in the Soviet Union confirm return to orthodoxy there. But nobody can argue that the threat in the Gulf now comes from Moscow.

In France, critics increasingly blame the United States for the crisis leading to war. Some compare the "intransigence" of the Iraqi leader and the "stubbornness" of George Bush, their common "infantilism," as one put it, "two china dogs" glaring each other into oblivion. They are presented as an equal menace to the world.

Some go further and suggest that, despite all evidence, Saddam Hussein sought a way out all along and it is only Mr. Bush who prevented it by trying to "humiliate" him. It is as though Mr. Bush massed 100,000 troops one day, gobbled up Kuwait and took thousands of hostages.

There is an Arab conspiracy theory, spread with Baghdad's blessing, that the United States deliberately provoked and lured Saddam into

invading in order to create an alibi for establishing American dominance of the Gulf. All the extraordinary developments of the past half year — Soviet agreement in the United Nations, the Arab split and support for the anti-Iraq coalition — were supposedly planned in Washington behind everybody's back, including Europe's.

This is creeping into European press and, even more worrisome, into thinking at high levels. A top-ranking French opposition politician told me last week — in a private conversation, so I will refrain from naming him — that Mr. Bush was looking 20 years ahead. He said there would be a great European economic power, with no oil, and thus to maintain its own position the United States had to establish control now of the world's largest oil supplies.

The man has a long personal experience in dealing with Iraq, and he defends the French policy of having become a major arms supplier on grounds that otherwise the British and the Germans would have taken over.

Few others credit Mr. Bush with so much vision, so much foresight as to have figured out a diabolical plan to entice Saddam Hussein into a scenario that puts so much at risk, especially so many American lives. On the contrary, Americans complain that the Bush administration stupidly ignored the signs of danger because of affinity for Iraq and the delusion that Saddam could be mollowed with indulgences.

There has been a sharp change from the early

European reaction of relief that the United States could organize an opposition which nobody else seemed willing or able to attempt. Perhaps the United States was a bit complacent in relishing a leadership role and thinking that the others were grateful that it accepted the burden of protecting common interests. The backlash makes Saddam the underdog and resents being lumped with America.

Of course, there are other strong voices, in France and in Europe, deploring the prospect of war, as all do, but keeping the facts straight. Still, the tone of much comment shows that the Big Lie is working again, and not only among some Arabs taken in by the claim of "sacred cause" (Kuwait's wealth?), the promise of paradise through defiant martyrdom, the pretense that Palestine is Saddam's first concern.

Serge July, the usually judicious editor of Liberation, writes that the UN call for full and unconditional withdrawal from Kuwait is Mr. Bush offering Iraq capitulation or destruction. He says Mr. Bush's undelivered letter to Baghdad was insulting, that François Mitterrand would have found it so, as though Paris behaved like Baghdad. Demonstrations warned against "La Busherie," a pun on butchery. Defense Minister Jean-Pierre Chevènement suggests that only a "little gesture" from Mr. Bush would have resolved the crisis.

The gap will get worse if there isn't a more conscious effort to remember how the world got in this pickle. The Big Lie is another aspect of Saddam's aggression.

International Herald Tribune.

## American Restraint Would Be the Better Course

By Daniel Patrick Moynihan

The writer, a New York Democrat, is a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

WASHINGTON — As we wait to see what will happen now in the Gulf it may be useful to record what was supposed to happen but did not.

We were supposed to see the emergence of a "new world order" in the course of the first crisis of the post-Cold War era. For a period it looked as if we might just then, in an instant, we relapsed into the Cold War mode.

The Iraqi invasion caught us unprepared as to the identity of friend and foe. We had been backing Iraq. A week before the invasion the State Department stoutly opposed the Iraq International Law Compliance Act, as reported from the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, cutting off agricultural subsidies until they stopped using poison gas.

By contrast, we had endorsed Kuwait, a none too pretty principality much given at international conferences to pronouncements concerning "the Zionist entity" receiving "economic, technological and political assistance from the United States." How then to respond to an invasion that threatened, among other things, Saudi Arabia?

We turned to international law, a code of conduct neutral as to the parties' prior posturing. In one news conference in August, President Bush used the term six times.

We turned to the United Nations. For the first time ever in such a situation, the permanent members were in accord.

Pursuant to Security Council resolutions, we dispatched forces to defend and to deter and to uphold economic sanctions. Something very like a world police action commenced to take shape.

Then, all of a sudden on Nov. 8, the body rejected the transplant. We lapsed back into the Cold War mode of massive military deployment. War plans were drawn. The public was informed that intelligence findings — necessarily secret — pointed to the inevitability of hostilities.

Terror alerts were sounded. The FBI began checking on yet another ethnic group. At the turn of the year the president would state on television: "Standing up against this aggression — no price is too heavy to pay for it."

This, of course, is the language John F. Kennedy used 30 years ago next Sunday, at the height of the Cold War. Pay any price, bear any burden. Many thought the Soviet Union had opened a lead in

ICBMs, the ultimate weapon of destruction. World communism was at its apogee, its progress declared irreversible, the next and final stage of history.

How could such terms be applied to the depredations of a Third World thug? Any price? A million Arab civilian casualties? Of course not. Some price, to be sure. But a proportionate price. Our share.

Curiously, this is more a possibility now than at any time since November. Thanks to last week's debate and Saturday's vote in Congress. And thanks also to that Soviet tank in Vilnius crushing a human before our eyes.

Saturday's vote authorizes the president to go to war. He asked for this authority and got it. For a moment there he was asserting in the Cold War mode that he didn't need it. The Constitution took something of a beating during the Cold War. How could it not have in the course of 30 to 40 years in which presidents knew they would have 10 minutes at most to decide whether to launch a thermonuclear second strike?

All right; that was then. Now a certain normalcy reappears. Which is to say a sense of proportion. Why should this not now phase over into a sense of proportion about what is at stake in the Gulf? Important principles, yes. Ultimate issues, no. Nothing worth the war now being contemplated.

Time is on America's side. Were Mr. Bush to show, in Dwight Eisenhower's phrase, "the courage of patience" he could end up with Eisenhower's stature as a military strategist.

Just as importantly, we have got to pay attention to the breakup of the Soviet Union. And to the fact that through half a century of the Cold War our vast intelligence system learned everything there was to know about the Soviet Union except that it was breaking up. We could be returning to the chaos of 1919 in that vast wretchedly governed, wretchedly unhappy land.

The 75-year struggle against totalitarianism has reached its endgame, but the final outcome remains, of course, uncertain. This is a state that still possesses 10,000 nuclear warheads. Civil war inches closer by the day. That for certain is a war the world does not need — which needs to be uppermost in our mind.

The New York Times.

## It's Getting Hard to Do Business With Gorbachev

By Jim Hoagland

WASHINGTON — Mikhail Gorbachev offers the West a choice of plague or cholera. By claiming that he did not know that Soviet troops would use deadly force against civilians in Lithuania, Nobel Prize laureate Gorbachev pleads not guilty by reason of incompetence or impotence in controlling the Soviet military in a predictably explosive situation.

What did he know and when did he know it? That question is not likely ever to be conclusively answered. The

**Bush cannot build a new world order on the blood of peaceful Lithuanians.**

Soviet president's weak, unpersuasive explanation of his role is intended to turn aside serious inquiry. It is a geopolitical cop-out.

The violence in Vilnius forces the Bush administration and its partners in Europe to face up to the growing militarization of Mr. Gorbachev's policies at home and abroad. Mr. Gorbachev is a reformer overtaken by the hard-line reaction that his own vision and courage have triggered. He accedes, willingly or not, to the resurgence of an old guard that he failed to dismantle completely.

The Soviet-U.S. summit in Moscow scheduled to begin on Feb. 11 is now threatened not only by the shadow of hostilities in the Gulf but also by the continuation of violence in the Baltic republics. Soviet-American relations, the one seeming bright spot in this winter's gloom, are now also under a cloud.

Mr. Gorbachev's explanation implicitly asks Western governments

to continue to consider him to be the good guy who would act differently if only he were aware of what his agents were up to. Initial reactions indicate that the West will accept this pretense. But the corollary of Mr. Gorbachev's statement is that he cannot avoid responsibility for any new violence.

U.S. policymakers have been concerned about the growing assertiveness of the Soviet military in the Kremlin since last autumn. Mr. Gorbachev's signature of the Conventional Forces in Europe treaty in Paris in November was immediately followed by three mystifying Soviet violations of the accord.

The treaty infractions were not in themselves threatening, given the continuing unilateral Soviet withdrawals of manpower and armor from Eastern Europe. But they raised the same question that the shooting in Lithuania raises about Mr. Gorbachev and the military: Who is in charge?

The Soviets have now acknowledged that they shifted 16,400 new tanks east of the Urals to avoid their being despoiled under the treaty's provisions. They also significantly undercounted the equipment left behind in the European theater when the treaty came into effect. The Soviets also unilaterally excluded three naval infantry divisions from the accord's provisions, creating an important loophole for the future.

Still eager to sign whatever can be signed with Mr. Gorbachev while he and the Soviet Union are still there, the Bush administration decided not to make a public fuss about these infractions and to continue negotiat-

ing for a strategic arms reduction treaty for the Moscow summit. Members of Congress who were briefed on the problems were asked not to go public while Secretary of State Jim Baker tried to use quiet diplomacy to get the Soviets back on a cooperative track.

Mr. Baker got nowhere when he pushed Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze on the violations in their meeting in Houston last month. Shevardnadze simply did not respond," says one key U.S. official. "He had his own problems." Two weeks later he resigned.

His departure was seen in Moscow as a victory for the military, which had openly challenged Mr. Shevardnadze over the unification of Germany and over his support for U.S. policy in the Gulf. Seemingly discredited and without a plan of action six months ago, orthodox Communists today offer a program built around respect for the military, law and order and an end to the breakaway movements in the Baltic republics and other Soviet states.

President Bush has sought to keep the cooperative, friendly relationship he thought he had with Mr. Gorbachev intact. When the first news reports of the moving of Soviet paratroopers into the Baltics came last week, he ordered key aides to avoid public criticism of the reported move. His action suggests that he has kept faith in Mr. Gorbachev longer than did Mr. Shevardnadze.

But such restraint is undermined by Mr. Gorbachev's cop-out on Vilnius. The administration should not engage in policy-making by mind reading, by guessing at what Mr. Gorbachev really thinks about the

army's actions. The facts now speak for themselves, and they portray Mr. Gorbachev as a man with whom it is increasingly difficult to do business.

The Gulf crisis does not alter this bitter reality. President Bush cannot build a new world order on cynicism, nor on the blood of peaceful Lithuanian citizens. Moscow was never prepared to offer more than political cover for the American effort in the Gulf. If Mr. Gorbachev has become a hostage to his military, that cover will be worthless in any event.

The Washington Post.

## 100, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

### 1891: A Jerusalem Day

The Herald says in an editorial: The proposal that all nations should use the meridian of Jerusalem for the purpose of reckoning longitude has its advantages, but not much can be said in favor of the additional proposal that the universal day should begin at the same meridian. At present the meridian where one gains or loses a day is in the middle of the Pacific Ocean, where nobody can meddle with it. Were it fixed at Jerusalem all sorts of complications would follow. The universal day is too delicate a thing to be put where people can consciously or unconsciously play tricks with it.

### 1916: Threat of Reprisal

LONDON — Germany seems set to make victims of the British officer who holds prisoners as revenge for the alleged murder by the British cruiser Baralong of the crew of the submarine that sank the Arabic. A

## Lithuania: A Talent for Democracy

By Czeslaw Milosz

BERKELEY, California — For me the Hitler-Stalin pact of 1939, as a result of which Lithuania, a peaceful, neutral country, was incorporated in 1940 into the Soviet Union, is not an abstraction.

I was in Vilnius and saw the Soviet tanks roll in. Immense suffering followed: mass terror and deportations of hundreds of thousands to gulags. Yet, the nation's spirit was not broken by decades of Soviet rule. The Lithuanians were certain the crime of depriving a nation of its independence would not profit the invader.

This quiet certitude was once expressed by a Lithuanian who said, "We are a small tomato swallowed by the giant, but he did not realize the tomato was poisoned."

Developments in the Baltic republics have proved him right. In popular movements that brought about independent governments, we observed such a quiet certitude, a surprising ability to organize autonomous life and a spirit of solidarity.

Of course, a talent for democracy is poison for a totalitarian state. In proportion to the Soviet Union, Lithuania is tiny. Yet, precisely in the Baltic states the claim for a government by the people was first voiced in

## In the end, naked force is doomed to failure.

the Soviet Union, and the founding of Mikhail Gorbachev's image as a reformer is logical.

The thrashing tail of a wounded totalitarian beast hit Lithuania, and our concern with Middle Eastern events should not make us indifferent to the tragedy of this small nation. The military and KGB, by sending troops, made a mistake.

If there was a chance the Baltic states would remain part of a federation with its center in Moscow, that chance is now lost. Without exaggeration one can say blood spilled in Vilnius is the gauge of Lithuania's future as an independent country.

The installation of a puppet government of Soviet-orientated Communists is too old a device to fool anybody. It will bring the loss of any prestige of the party, now equated with the betrayal of the national interest. The military intervention in Lithuania comes after similar Soviet interventions elsewhere — and we know how they end in the long run.

The imposed puppet rule for a shorter or longer time, yet today the Soviet Union's dire economic and political situation does not prestage success for any attempt to stop irresistible natural democratic processes.

In the last two years the West was carried by a powerful wave of optimism. In spite of isolated relics of the barbarous past, we have had enough reason to believe in renewed respect for the rule of international law.

That is why acceptance of the brutal facts is difficult and why a Nobel Peace Prize winner who orders massacres of civilians seems strange, even in a century used to hypocrisy.

Yet, the time has not yet come for dire prophecies. The Soviet Union's totalitarian forces are waging a losing battle. However tragic may be its consequences for the victims of oppression, its outcome is preordained. Naked force, after ideology disintegrates, is doomed to failure. Enough examples proving this can be invoked at this last decade of our century.

The loneliness of peoples who feel abandoned by the civilized world adds to their torment. The Lithuanians, in this hour of trial, should be aware that they are not forgotten, that world opinion follows events in Vilnius by the hour and that their struggle is recognized as part of a great struggle for democracy everywhere.

The writer, professor emeritus of Slavic languages and literatures at the University of California at Berkeley, received the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1958. He contributed this comment to The New York Times.

## Poets for Lithuania

WE ARE three poets, friends, representing three languages: Lithuanian, Russian and Polish. We call upon the world community — our fellow writers and all people of conscience — to raise its voice in protest against the Lithuanian Soviet assault on the people of Lithuania. The events of the last days remind us bitterly of the worst excesses of the Soviet state.

—Thomas Venclova, Joseph Brodsky and Czeslaw Milosz, writing in The New York Times.

## 1941: Traveler Indicted

NEW YORK — Hector Leon Marie Vanderdonck, an American citizen, former chief officer of a ship sold by the United States Lines to Belgium and torpedoed in the Bay of Biscay last June, was indicted yesterday (Jan. 15) by a Federal Grand Jury for violating the neutrality act by traveling in the European war zone without permission of the United States government. Vanderdonck, a Belgian by birth, made two trips to Belgium last year after President Roosevelt had forbidden travel into the European combat zone by American citizens.

—From The New York edition of the New York Herald Tribune.



OPINION

# The New World Order Died In Vilnius, Age 4 Months

By A. M. Rosenthal

NEW YORK — The New World Order was born in Washington on Sept. 11, 1990, and was shot dead in the streets of Vilnius on Jan. 13, 1991.

This may seem a sad thing to proclaim as the United States prepares to fight a war from which this new order was supposed to come forth. But the New World Order was an idea conceived in delusion and falsehood, which could have destroyed the very purposes of fighting the war.

For the clarity of mind essential to fight a war it is far better that it happened now.

## ON MY MIND

The truth can help a war to result in a peace of hope, not lead to another war. That is the gift of the people of Vilnius.

In his September address to Congress, President George Bush said that out of the Gulf crisis a new world order "free from the threat of terror, stronger in the pursuit of justice, more secure in the quest for peace," in which all nations could prosper and live in harmony.

Instantly the phrase became one of those things that is never precisely defined but is accepted as so pure of purpose that even to ask what in God's name it means would be a nasty thing to do. So almost nobody did.

But it became clear as time went on that in Mr. Bush's mind the New World Order was founded on a convergence of goals and interests between the United States and the Soviet Union, a convergence so strong and permanent that they would work as a team through the UN Security Council. The other major powers that held veto power, including Communist China, would be counted on for cooperation.

And it also became obvious that after the Gulf crisis, the Middle Eastern branch of the New World Order was to be a NATO-type alliance between the United States and the Arab nations, under the Soviet-American umbrella. If Israel behaved docilely and agreed to the creation of another Palestinian state in addition to Jordan, it would be allowed to exist, for the time being — but of course never as a partner in the Middle Eastern order.

Naturally, there were some prices for the New World Order. Nothing could be done to support the Soviet democratic movements that felt Mikhail Gorbachev was fighting to save the Soviet system, not end it.

The American promise of support for Baltic freedom had to be betrayed. The other independence movements trying to break out of the evil empire, domestic department, had to be shoved aside. Every sign of repression by the Gorbachev government had to be ignored.

All this did not prove very difficult for an administration that showed its

attitude toward troublesome anti-Communist freedom movements by moving as quickly as possible to patch things up with the butchers of Beijing after Tiananmen Square.

And of course, to bring about the Mideast version of the New World Order the United States had to accept as its partners Arab regimes that ruled through terrorism, domestic or international, or both. A Hafez Assad today, another Saddam Hussein tomorrow.

After Vilnius, Washington is shocked, for the moment anyway. Journalists and academics who fully supported betrayal of the Baltics now weep for them. But wait — soon they will be back, justifying themselves, and giving us terrific advice again on how to deal with the Kremlin without getting it upset.

Forget them. The people of Vilnius, dead and alive, are showing us the truth — the greatest of gifts to a nation facing war. The truth now is what it always has been. Appeasement always fails. Tyrants always betray free nations. Dictatorships are perpetual threats to the United States because they can exist only through terror and war. Free nations and peoples are our friends. We need each other. Appeasement always fails.

The gift of Vilnius should not bring despair or cynicism. It brings freedom from falsehood and cant.

With that gift we can see that our allies in the Soviet Union are not the frightened men of the Kremlin but the democratic movements — in Moscow, in the Baltics, in Armenia, everywhere in the crumbling empire.

In the Middle East, one day Saddam Hussein will go down. But if we place our hopes for the future on the corrupt, despotic Arab regimes that rule now, we will betray the people of those nations and ourselves.

Mr. Bush, please, don't you see that only free governments and free people can create a truly secure world order — open to all who oppose tyranny? That is the meaning of Vilnius. It should be the meaning of Jan. 15, 1991, and what follows in war or peace.

The New York Times

## Moscow and the Germans

ALTHOUGH the crisis in the Soviet Union could be recognized some time ago, its dangers were ignored. But it was clear that even the Soviet agreement for German unification was a symptom of Moscow's weakness. Mikhail Gorbachev's position and policy no longer seemed predictable, and durable. To [Helmut] Kohl's and [Franz] Josef Strauss's merit, they recognized this and pushed unification forward. It is questionable whether this could have been obtained from the Soviet Union under present conditions.

— Süddeutsche Zeitung (Munich)



# This Sand Is Cleaner Than the Cleanest

THE FIRST letter below is from the American wife of a Kuwaiti businessman; she resides in the United States with their children. She requested anonymity for herself and her husband in Kuwait. Her letter and her husband's letter, which follows, were adapted by The New York Times.

President Bush, I called the White House comment line to express my support for you. During our conversation I told them I received this letter from my husband, who is a Kuwaiti inside Kuwait. It was smuggled out of Jordan.

Mr. President, my husband is a very strong man — that's why it was so depressing to receive this letter.

The Kuwaitis are losing hope. I don't think they can hold on much longer. I have no way to get communication to my husband. This letter was written the first week of December.

Thank God for you, Mr. President. We know you will do the right thing.

Dear [name withheld], Thank God so far we are all in good health, hoping to see you someday. Af-

ter all, I guess you were right. They've done it, and what a mess.

In the first days [of the invasion], and up to this day, we are living a nightmare. I'm hoping to wake up [when] everything is back to normal.

Believe me, I've never trusted the guy (you know who). I thought that this thing would be settled peacefully, but all hell broke loose.

Even my mother was on the brink of a breakdown. I've never seen her so

## MEANWHILE

miserable and so weak. You know how tough she is — well, you should see her now. She aged more than 10 years in these few weeks.

I've told the family in the beginning that I'd take them as far as the [Saudi] border because I will not leave my country when it's in need of me — not for anything. I want you to teach the kids the same way: how to be devoted first to their country (in this case, their two countries) and devoted to good causes. I want them to grow up to be tough men. And believe me, I miss you all.

Thank God none of [my family] has

left the country (only the ones who were on vacation when it happened). Every day we sit by the radio. My mother has locked herself in her room with two radios day and night. She hardly eats anything and is really nervous.

Isn't the Yanks coming? When will all this massacre finish? Please, you guys have to do something over there. This country is being raped and everyone is watching.

We are here hanging by the threads of hope that there still is a conscience out there in the world. For God and my country I'd sacrifice anything.

If we leave and everybody else does, then who is left behind except thieves and criminals waiting for us to leave? The sand of this country is cleaner than the cleanest of them all.

We are becoming more faithful and patriotic and things will be better for sure. The trial for all who are responsible for this hasn't started yet. First we have to put ourselves on trial. Then the enemy. And thank God that God is on our side.

Kiss the kids. Say "hello" to everyone who asks about us and tell them that soon I'll see you and everybody.

The New York Times

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### The Objective Is Peace

We believe that the interests of the West and of the United Nations are, for once, identical in the Gulf, and that our objectives should therefore be:

- (1) To stop Iraqi expansion; (2) to safeguard oil supplies; (3) to minimize the human, environmental and financial costs; (4) to make oil again available to the rest of the world; and (5) to give the Kuwaiti people a choice of government.

War would stop the Iraqis but reduce oil supplies and increase costs of all kinds. It might give the Kuwaitis a nominal choice of government but, since there would be neither a country nor much of a population left, that would be irrelevant.

The economic blockade in the Gulf has already achieved the first, second and third objectives. The fourth and fifth can be achieved within a reasonable period — a year or so according to many independent analysts. We need only continue the present blockade and maintain a defensive shield — preferably with the involvement of more countries — against Iraq.

This is a costly and uncomfortable option, but much less so than any other.

It appears, however, that the United States is about to match defeat from the jaws of victory by choosing war. We beg the U.S. government and our own government to take instead the rational course of continuing the status quo.

ALAN DALE  
[and 10 other signers]  
Chesham, England

### Options in the Long View

If war is the ultimate option, the consequences within two to three years could

be improved prospects for peace and democracy in the region and a favorable solution to the Palestinian question. A peaceful solution to the Gulf crisis would delay those benefits for another 15 to 20 years.

If given the choice, as an Iraqi and an Arab, I would opt for war.

NAZAR al-AMIR  
Pampigny, Switzerland

### Kuwaiti Oil for All Arabs

As we draw near to war in the Gulf, a basis for compromise and real change in the region is desperately needed. This is a perfect time to begin a dialogue and use our power to address the real problem in the Arab world: the absence of any meaningful democracy and the highly flawed mechanism for distributing the vast wealth pouring into the region from the sale of oil.

A new structure is needed, which I would call the Pan Arab Development Fund, to be devoted to the peaceful development of all the states in the Arab League. The Fund would be given control of Kuwait's portion of the Rumailah oil field on the border with Iraq, and would be granted permission by Kuwait to pump and sell one million barrels of oil per day for 20 years. The millions of dollars in daily revenues would be used to fund development projects throughout the Arab world.

The details of the Fund's charter would be left to Kuwait and other member states, but the United Nations might insist on the following useful elements: Moneys would be distributed to countries in proportion to population, thereby ensuring that the beneficiaries of the

Kuwaitis' largess would be poor, populous countries; certain moneys would be earmarked for Arab constituencies within a country, e.g., the Palestinians. The criteria for acceptable projects would have a democratic flavor.

The U.S. force of close to half a million in the Gulf explains why any such largess on Kuwait's part is even remotely possible. The Pan Arab Development Fund should be a regular member of OPEC, thereby giving poor Arab nations a voice in that organization.

The idea of the Fund introduces a new force for stability and shared interest in the long run and should serve as a lively discussion point in the short run.

JAMES MURDOCK  
New York

### Note From the Desert

I was startled to discover that most of the people I work with here are middle- and lower-class. I am not against doing my job and fighting a war if necessary, but it disturbs me that the oil people are benefiting from this crisis as the upper class sits back in its patriotic fervor. My answer to this: Reinstate the draft and fill our squads and platoons with the sons and daughters of the rich. Perhaps they will change their tune.

Specialist STEVE CRATON  
Operation Desert Shield

### Reason for Restraint

I am not particularly proud these days to be an American. I believe one main reason that many Europeans are not as gung-ho for war as Americans would like them to be is that Europe has seen

two major wars on its soil in this century — memories of the horrors and ravages of war are still acute.

ROBERT PAULSON  
Lernbagen, Germany

### Sights on the War-Maker

The United States has taken the posture it has — that Saddam Hussein must walk away from Kuwait with nothing, with his "tail between his legs" — partly for reasons of principle and because of its ties to Israel, but also to maximize the humiliation of Saddam Hussein and hence the likelihood of his overthrow.

I believe that the restoration of the status quo ante is no longer the sole goal of U.S. policy; Washington now desires that Iraq be stripped of its war-making ability, or at least of its war-making

This change in objectives, provoked in part by the recent threats to use unconventional weapons against Israel and the prospect of Israel's response to them, explains America's early abandonment of reliance on the embargo (the political effects of which were too easily manipulated by Saddam) and the dropping of official talk about a post-crisis security arrangement to contain an Iraq restored to its borders but still menacing.

The level of internal opposition to Saddam is difficult to judge, though he clearly has enemies and it appears that at least some of them have guns. By any reasonable standard he should not be able to survive a withdrawal from Kuwait. But perhaps reasonable standards are no longer relevant.

ROGER D. BARRIS  
Boulogne-Billancourt, France

### Where the Soviets Stand

One reason President George Bush seems so unconcerned about the dangers of starting a war in the Gulf is that the Soviet Union is on the side of the United Nations at present. But the conflict could drag on, and the Soviet Union is utterly unstable. If Mikhail Gorbachev is unseated, the Soviets could change sides, at the very least supplying weapons to their old ally, Iraq. This would put the whole world at risk.

Combine that with the other dangers of escalation, such as Israel's nuclear arsenal, and it becomes clear that it is too dangerous to start a war.

J. KERR  
London

Will this be the beginning of World War III, casting sparks and embers into each man's backyard, burning at the roots of society, eliminating millions of lives, breaking hearts, rendering fertile soils useless for centuries to come?

If this fire does erupt, then make the suffering short. Perhaps with an announcement that the Soviet military would actively support the enforcement of international law, Iraq might back off.

TOMMY SNYDER  
Paris

Letters intended for publication should be addressed "Letters to the Editor" and contain the writer's signature, name and full address. Letters should be brief and are subject to editing. We cannot be responsible for the return of unsolicited manuscripts.

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## MARKET DIARY

Stocks Close Mixed  
As Deadline Nears

NEW YORK — Stock prices closed mixed Tuesday in very tight trading as nervous investors waited to see if war would break out in the Middle East soon after the midnight deadline for Iraq to pull out of Kuwait.

The Dow Jones industrial average, which lost 17.58 points Monday, rose 6.68 to 2,490.59.

Among broader market gauges,

## N.Y. Stocks

the New York Stock Exchange composite index edged 0.49 to 171.70 and Standard & Poor's 500-stock index rose 1.23 to 313.72.

But declines led advances by a narrow margin. Volume was the lightest so far this year — 109.9 million shares compared with 120.8 million traded Monday.

The Dow industrials drifted within a few points of Monday's close throughout the day as traders looked for some sign that war in the Gulf could be avoided. Early in the

day, hopes were pinned on a French peace proposal. But France conceded that it was unable to overcome U.S. opposition to the plan.

The only other sign of a diplomatic move came just before the close. Italian television was said to be reporting a possible peace initiative, which analysts said drove the Dow up a few points going into the close.

"The Vatican stepped in, and the market rallied on that at the bell," said James Andrews, first vice president in charge of institutional trading at Janney Montgomery Scott Inc. in Philadelphia.

Occidental Petroleum was the most active issue, up 1/8 to 18 1/2 after what was said to be positive comments on the stock made by several analysts.

Pacificorp followed, off 3/4 to 20 1/2 in dividend-related trading. J.P. Morgan was third, down 2 1/2 to 42.

Dollar Hardly Moves  
In a Nervous Market

## Reuters

NEW YORK — With the deadline for Iraq to get out of Kuwait looming, the dollar edged mixed in this trading on Tuesday.

The greenback closed at 1.5420 Deutsche marks, down slightly

## Foreign Exchange

from 1.5440 DM on Monday, but rose to 135.75 yen from 135.15.

Traders said that other than some speculative positions and commercial transactions, there was very little activity ahead of the potential hostilities. Demand for high-yield currencies that are seen as alternatives to the U.S. dollar triggered demand for the Canadian and Australian dollars.

The U.S. currency also rose to 1.2850 Swiss francs from 1.2825 francs, and to 5.2420 French francs from 5.2375 francs.

The dollar fell against the pound, which rose to \$1.9090 from \$1.9055.

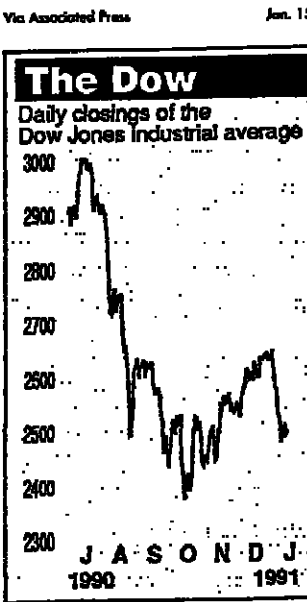
"I suspect the dollar will go up a little, at least initially" in the event of hostilities, said Bill Arnold of Chemical Bank Group. But he said a lot would depend on news about any damage to oil fields, the effect on oil prices and the implications for the weak U.S. economy, which is officially in a recession.

Some speculators were believed to have positioned themselves with currency options to make money in the event of war or peace, and stood only to lose their premiums in the event the situation dragged on with no change.

In London trading earlier, dollar trading was almost static.

"It's dead," said Paul Chertkov, chief economist at Citicorp in London. "No one is prepared, inter-bank or otherwise, to take a big position with such uncertainty ahead of the deadline."

The dollar slipped to 1.5435 DM in London from 1.5445 DM at Monday's close. It also rose to 135.75 yen, from a previous 134.95.



## NYSE Most Active

Vol.	High	Low	Last	Chg.
Occidental	18 1/2	18 1/8	18 1/2	+1/8
Pacificorp	20 1/2	20 1/4	20 1/2	-3/4
J.P. Morgan	42	41 3/4	42	-2 1/2
IBM	118 1/2	118 1/4	118 1/2	+1/4
General	118 1/2	118 1/4	118 1/2	+1/4
United	107 1/2	107 1/4	107 1/2	+1/4
Wells Fargo	107 1/2	107 1/4	107 1/2	+1/4
Bank of America	107 1/2	107 1/4	107 1/2	+1/4
Wells Fargo	107 1/2	107 1/4	107 1/2	+1/4
Bank of America	107 1/2	107 1/4	107 1/2	+1/4

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General	118 1/2	118 1/4	118 1/2	+1/4
United	107 1/2	107 1/4	107 1/2	+1/4
Wells Fargo	107 1/2	107 1/4	107 1/2	+1/4
Bank of America	107 1/2	107 1/4	107 1/2	+1/4
Wells Fargo	107 1/2	107 1/4	107 1/2	+1/4
Bank of America	107 1/2	107 1/4	107 1/2	+1/4

## NYSE Diary

Advanced	Declined	Unchanged
699	362	121
1,161	721	438
1,161	721	438

## Amex Diary

Advanced	Declined	Unchanged
244	146	146
244	146	146

## NASDAQ Diary

Advanced	Declined	Unchanged
885	484	411
885	484	411

## Dow Jones Averages

Index	High	Low	Last	Chg.
Dow Jones	2490.59	2483.91	2490.59	+6.68
S&P 500	313.72	312.49	313.72	+1.23
NASDAQ	313.72	312.49	313.72	+1.23

## Standard &amp; Poor's Indexes

Index	High	Low	Last	Chg.
Industrials	313.72	312.49	313.72	+1.23
Technology	313.72	312.49	313.72	+1.23
Finance	313.72	312.49	313.72	+1.23

## NYSE Indexes

Index	High	Low	Last	Chg.
Composite	313.72	312.49	313.72	+1.23
Technology	313.72	312.49	313.72	+1.23
Finance	313.72	312.49	313.72	+1.23

## NASDAQ Indexes

Index	High	Low	Last	Chg.
Composite	313.72	312.49	313.72	+1.23
Technology	313.72	312.49	313.72	+1.23
Finance	313.72	312.49	313.72	+1.23

## AMEX Stock Index

Index	High	Low	Last	Chg.
Composite	313.72	312.49	313.72	+1.23
Technology	313.72	312.49	313.72	+1.23
Finance	313.72	312.49	313.72	+1.23

## Dow Jones Bond Averages

Index	High	Low	Last	Chg.
20 Bonds	114.21	114.18	114.21	+0.01
10 Utilities	114.21	114.18	114.21	+0.01
10 Industrials	114.21	114.18	114.21	+0.01

## Market Sales

Index	High	Low	Last	Chg.
NYSE 4 a.m. volume	109,900,000	109,900,000	109,900,000	0
NYSE 4 p.m. volume	109,900,000	109,900,000	109,900,000	0
NASDAQ 4 a.m. volume	109,900,000	109,900,000	109,900,000	0

## Spot Commodities

Commodity	Today	Prev.
Aluminum	1.02	1.02
Coffee	1.02	1.02
Cocoa	1.02	1.02

## N.Y.S.E. Odd-Lot Trading

Index	High	Low	Last	Chg.
NYSE 4 a.m. volume	109,900,000	109,900,000	109,900,000	0
NYSE 4 p.m. volume	109,900,000	109,900,000	109,900,000	0
NASDAQ 4 a.m. volume	109,900,000	109,900,000	109,900,000	0

## Currency Options

Index	High	Low	Last	Chg.
100 Yen	1.02	1.02	1.02	0
100 Euro	1.02	1.02	1.02	0
100 Swiss	1.02	1.02	1.02	0

## PHILADELPHIA EXCHANGE

Index	High	Low	Last	Chg.
100 Yen	1.02	1.02	1.02	0
100 Euro	1.02	1.02	1.02	0
100 Swiss	1.02	1.02	1.02	0

## European Futures

Index	High	Low	Last	Chg.
100 Yen	1.02	1.02	1.02	0
100 Euro	1.02	1.02	1.02	0
100 Swiss	1.02	1.02	1.02	0

## Coffee (Futures)

Index	High	Low	Last	Chg.
100 Yen	1.02	1.02	1.02	0
100 Euro	1.02	1.02	1.02	0
100 Swiss	1.02	1.02	1.02	0

## Cocoa (Futures)

Index	High	Low	Last	Chg.
100 Yen	1.02	1.02	1.02	0
100 Euro	1.02	1.02	1.02	0
100 Swiss	1.02	1.02	1.02	0

## Soybean (Futures)

Index	High	Low	Last	Chg.
100 Yen	1.02	1.02	1.02	0
100 Euro	1.02	1.02	1.02	0
100 Swiss	1.02	1.02	1.02	0

## Wheat (Futures)

Index	High	Low	Last	Chg.
100 Yen	1.02	1.02	1.02	0
100 Euro	1.02	1.02	1.02	0
100 Swiss	1.02	1.02	1.02	0

## Corn (Futures)

Index	High	Low	Last	Chg.
100 Yen	1.02	1.02	1.02	0
100 Euro	1.02	1.02	1.02	0
100 Swiss	1.02	1.02	1.02	0

## Oats (Futures)

Index	High	Low	Last	Chg.
100 Yen	1.02	1.02	1.02	0
100 Euro	1.02	1.02	1.02	0
100 Swiss	1.02	1.02	1.02	0

## Rice (Futures)

Index	High	Low	Last	Chg.
100 Yen	1.02	1.02	1.02	0
100 Euro	1.02	1.02	1.02	0
100 Swiss	1.02	1.02	1.02	0

## Sugar (Futures)

Index	High	Low	Last	Chg.
100 Yen	1.02	1.02	1.02	0
100 Euro	1.02	1.02	1.02	0
100 Swiss	1.02	1.02	1.02	0

## Cotton (Futures)

Index	High	Low	Last	Chg.
100 Yen	1.02	1.02	1.02	0
100 Euro	1.02	1.02	1.02	0
100 Swiss	1.02	1.02	1.02	0

## Gold (Futures)

Index	High	Low	Last	Chg.
100 Yen	1.02	1.02	1.02	0
100 Euro	1.02	1.02	1.02	0
100 Swiss	1.02	1.02	1.02	0

## Silver (Futures)

Index	High	Low	Last	Chg.
100 Yen	1.02	1.02	1.02	0
100 Euro	1.02	1.02	1.02	0
100 Swiss	1.02	1.02	1.02	0

## Platinum (Futures)

Index	High	Low	Last	Chg.
100 Yen	1.02	1.02	1.02	0
100 Euro	1.02	1.02	1.02	0
100 Swiss	1.02	1.02	1.02	0

## Palladium (Futures)

Index	High	Low	Last	Chg.
100 Yen	1.02	1.02	1.02	0
100 Euro	1.02	1.02	1.02	0
100 Swiss	1.02	1.02	1.02	0

## Nickel (Futures)

Index	High	Low	Last	Chg.
100 Yen	1.02	1.02	1.02	0
100 Euro	1.02	1.02	1.02	0
100 Swiss	1.02	1.02	1.02	0

## Zinc (Futures)

Index	High	Low	Last	Chg.
100 Yen	1.02	1.02	1.02	0
100 Euro	1.02	1.02	1.02	0
100 Swiss	1.02	1.02	1.02	0

## Copper (Futures)

Index	High	Low	Last	Chg.
100 Yen	1.02	1.02	1.02	0
100 Euro	1.02	1.02	1.02	0
100 Swiss	1.02	1.02	1.02	0

## Iron Ore (Futures)

Index	High	Low	Last	Chg.
100 Yen	1.02	1.02	1.02	0
100 Euro	1.02	1.02	1.02	0
100 Swiss	1.02	1.02	1.02	0

## Steel (Futures)

Index	High	Low	Last	Chg.
100 Yen	1.02	1.02	1.02	0
100 Euro	1.02	1.02	1.02	0
100 Swiss	1.02	1.02	1.02	0

## Aluminum (Futures)

Index	High	Low	Last	Chg.
100 Yen	1.02	1.02	1.02	0
100 Euro	1.02	1.02	1.02	0
100 Swiss	1.02	1.02	1.02	0

## Copper (Futures)

Index	High	Low	Last	Chg.
100 Yen	1.02	1.02	1.02	0
100 Euro	1.02	1.02	1.02	0
100 Swiss	1.02	1.02	1.02	0

## Nickel (Futures)

Index	High	Low	Last	Chg.
100 Yen	1.02	1.02	1.02	0
100 Euro	1.02	1.02	1.02	0
100 Swiss	1.02	1.02		







Year	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023	2024	2025	2026	2027	2028	2029	2030	2031	2032	2033	2034	2035	2036	2037	2038	2039	2040	2041	2042	2043	2044	2045	2046	2047	2048	2049	2050	2051	2052	2053	2054	2055	2056	2057	2058	2059	2060	2061	2062	2063	2064	2065	2066	2067	2068	2069	2070	2071	2072	2073	2074	2075	2076	2077	2078	2079	2080	2081	2082	2083	2084	2085	2086	2087	2088	2089	2090	2091	2092	2093	2094	2095	2096	2097	2098	2099	2100
1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023	2024	2025	2026	2027	2028	2029	2030	2031	2032	2033	2034	2035	2036	2037	2038	2039	2040	2041	2042	2043	2044	2045	2046	2047	2048	2049	2050	2051	2052	2053	2054	2055	2056	2057	2058	2059	2060	2061	2062	2063	2064	2065	2066	2067	2068	2069	2070	2071	2072	2073	2074	2075	2076	2077	2078	2079	2080	2081	2082	2083	2084	2085	2086	2087	2088	2089	2090	2091	2092	2093	2094	2095	2096	2097	2098	2099	2100	

[illegible]

High Low Stock										High Low Stock											
Day	Vol	High	Low	Open	Close	Day	Vol	High	Low	Open	Close	Day	Vol	High	Low	Open	Close	Day	Vol	High	Low
1992	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	1992	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	1992	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	1992	100	1.00	0.95
1993	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	1993	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	1993	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	1993	100	1.00	0.95
1994	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	1994	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	1994	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	1994	100	1.00	0.95
1995	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	1995	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	1995	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	1995	100	1.00	0.95
1996	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	1996	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	1996	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	1996	100	1.00	0.95
1997	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	1997	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	1997	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	1997	100	1.00	0.95
1998	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	1998	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	1998	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	1998	100	1.00	0.95
1999	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	1999	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	1999	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	1999	100	1.00	0.95
2000	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2000	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2000	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2000	100	1.00	0.95
2001	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2001	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2001	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2001	100	1.00	0.95
2002	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2002	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2002	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2002	100	1.00	0.95
2003	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2003	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2003	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2003	100	1.00	0.95
2004	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2004	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2004	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2004	100	1.00	0.95
2005	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2005	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2005	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2005	100	1.00	0.95
2006	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2006	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2006	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2006	100	1.00	0.95
2007	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2007	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2007	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2007	100	1.00	0.95
2008	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2008	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2008	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2008	100	1.00	0.95
2009	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2009	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2009	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2009	100	1.00	0.95
2010	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2010	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2010	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2010	100	1.00	0.95
2011	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2011	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2011	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2011	100	1.00	0.95
2012	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2012	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2012	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2012	100	1.00	0.95
2013	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2013	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2013	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2013	100	1.00	0.95
2014	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2014	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2014	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2014	100	1.00	0.95
2015	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2015	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2015	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2015	100	1.00	0.95
2016	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2016	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2016	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2016	100	1.00	0.95
2017	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2017	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2017	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2017	100	1.00	0.95
2018	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2018	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2018	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2018	100	1.00	0.95
2019	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2019	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2019	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2019	100	1.00	0.95
2020	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2020	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2020	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2020	100	1.00	0.95
2021	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2021	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2021	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2021	100	1.00	0.95
2022	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2022	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2022	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2022	100	1.00	0.95
2023	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2023	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2023	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2023	100	1.00	0.95
2024	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2024	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2024	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2024	100	1.00	0.95
2025	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2025	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2025	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2025	100	1.00	0.95
2026	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2026	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2026	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2026	100	1.00	0.95
2027	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2027	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2027	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2027	100	1.00	0.95
2028	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2028	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2028	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2028	100	1.00	0.95
2029	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2029	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2029	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2029	100	1.00	0.95
2030	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2030	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2030	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2030	100	1.00	0.95
2031	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2031	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2031	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2031	100	1.00	0.95
2032	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2032	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2032	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2032	100	1.00	0.95
2033	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2033	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2033	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2033	100	1.00	0.95
2034	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2034	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2034	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2034	100	1.00	0.95
2035	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2035	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2035	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2035	100	1.00	0.95
2036	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2036	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2036	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2036	100	1.00	0.95
2037	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2037	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2037	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2037	100	1.00	0.95
2038	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2038	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2038	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2038	100	1.00	0.95
2039	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2039	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2039	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2039	100	1.00	0.95
2040	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2040	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2040	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2040	100	1.00	0.95
2041	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2041	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2041	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2041	100	1.00	0.95
2042	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2042	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2042	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2042	100	1.00	0.95
2043	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2043	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2043	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2043	100	1.00	0.95
2044	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2044	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2044	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2044	100	1.00	0.95
2045	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2045	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2045	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2045	100	1.00	0.95
2046	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2046	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2046	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2046	100	1.00	0.95
2047	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2047	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2047	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2047	100	1.00	0.95
2048	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2048	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2048	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2048	100	1.00	0.95
2049	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2049	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2049	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2049	100	1.00	0.95
2050	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2050	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2050	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2050	100	1.00	0.95
2051	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2051	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2051	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2051	100	1.00	0.95
2052	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2052	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2052	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2052	100	1.00	0.95
2053	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2053	100	1.00	0.95	0.98	0.98	2053									



## ASIA/PACIFIC

## For Manila, Gulf War Would Quickly Hit Home

By Michael Richardson  
International Herald Tribune

The Philippines, struggling to sustain economic growth in the face of rising oil prices and austerity measures demanded by external creditors, will have to slash fuel imports and curtail industrial production if war erupts in the Gulf, economists said Tuesday.

The government of President Corason C. Aquino last week imposed a 9 percent levy on imports to reduce the budget deficit as part of a proposed accord with the International Monetary Fund.

The levy is to take effect on Friday. In recent weeks, the government also has raised fuel prices sharply and devalued the peso by 8 percent to meet conditions for a \$700 million loan package promised by the IMF.

On Tuesday, the governor of the central bank, Jose Cuisia, said he believes Manila would finalize by Friday with the IMF a letter of intent specifying economic performance targets the Philippines must meet in order to draw loans from the fund.

Mr. Cuisia said he and Finance Secretary Jesus Estanislao began meeting Monday with an IMF delegation. "Based on what we have discussed," he said, "there is optimism on our part we will be able to come up with an agreement" by Friday.

Maintaining an unpopular belt-tightening policy despite even higher oil prices caused by fighting in the Gulf would be a price the country must pay for eventual economic recovery, according to Western officials.

Although far removed from the crisis, the Philippines is one of the Third World nations that has been hit hardest since the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait on Aug. 2.

Nearly all the country's oil is imported, about 70 percent of it from the Middle East. And 500,000 Filipino workers in the area, almost 400,000 of them in Saudi Arabia, provide more than \$1 billion a year in foreign-exchange remittances. This is equivalent to more than 10 percent of total Philippine export earnings in 1990.

Since August, at least 50,000 additional Filipinos have

## PAL to Cut Its Debt

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

MANILA — Philippine Airlines, the state-owned carrier, has signed a commitment to buy back about \$80 million of its \$170 million foreign commercial debt. The move, according to PAL's chairman, comes in preparation for its privatization by the second quarter.

The airline recently sold a DC-10 aircraft for \$48 million to raise the funds for the buyback, and on Tuesday its chairman, Feliciano Belmonte, said the carrier intends to sell one more aircraft.

Spokesmen for the government pension fund that controls the airline said they expect the \$80 million in debt to be bought back at about a 60 percent discount.

Meanwhile, it was announced that the government-owned Westin Philippine Plaza Hotel in Manila is to be privatized through a negotiated sale after two efforts to auction it off failed. Hong Kong and Japanese investors are said to be among interested buyers. (AFP, Reuters)

gone to Saudi Arabia to replace Iraqi, Jordanian, Yemeni and Palestinian workers expelled by the kingdom for siding with Iraq. Labor Department officials in Manila said.

Although Filipino workers in areas within missile range of Kuwait are being offered the chance to move deeper inside Saudi Arabia, Manila does not intend to mount a mass evacuation of its nationals should war break out.

The Philippines works in the oil industry, on construction projects and in hospitals, hotels and other services.

"If they were to leave Saudi Arabia the economy would be crippled," said Bernardo Villegas, chief economist at the Center for Research and Communication, a think tank in Manila.

Their return home would add to the already high rate of

unemployment and underemployment in the country's 23 million work force.

A Western diplomat in Manila who watches the Philippine economy said its foreign-exchange reserves have been run down since August to buy oil and maintain stocks at about 60 days supply. He said that if buying at current prices continued, reserves would fall to about \$750 million by March, enough to pay for only about 15 days of imports.

Mr. Villegas said that a Gulf war would push oil prices to much higher levels and force the Philippines to cut fuel imports up to 50 percent. Industrial production would fall and exports would slow.

But he added that the country's import bill would fall faster, cutting the trade deficit to under \$2.5 billion in 1991, from \$4 billion in 1990.

Economic growth, after adjustment for inflation, was just over 3 percent last year. Mr. Villegas said that war would probably push the Philippines down to zero growth in 1991. Sanjoy Chowdhury, senior regional economist in the Singapore office of Merrill Lynch, said that a difficult period of 12 to 18 months is in store for the Philippines.

"The good news, however, is that if the necessary reforms are implemented, the economy could return to a sustainable growth path in 1992-93," he said.

Mr. Estanislao said that the import levy should raise 20 billion pesos (\$723 million) a year. Together with expenditure cuts, this would help keep the budget deficit to about 35 billion pesos in 1991, in line with IMF requirements.

Western diplomats said they expect that the IMF team in Manila will return to Washington soon to gain endorsement of the Philippine reform package from the fund's executive board.

They said that this would pave the way for a meeting in Hong Kong, tentatively scheduled for late February, of the United States, Japan, Germany, France, Australia and other suppliers of aid to the Philippines.

Officials in Manila said that they hope to secure between \$2.5 billion and \$3 billion from the donors. The foreign debt of the Philippines stands at about \$27 billion.

## China Vows To Hold Lid On Credit

Reuters

BEIJING — China's top central banker said he will clamp down on money supply growth as the country's economic recovery is threatened by the specter of renewed inflation and a fiscal crisis caused by crippling losses in state enterprises, the China Daily reported Tuesday.

Li Guobin, president of the People's Bank of China, told a banking conference that tight controls had to be put on money supply growth, reversing a credit loosening started last year to boost struggling industrial production.

"The central bank has set lending quotas for all the banks in the country to guarantee the money supply ceiling for this year," the official China Daily said.

Lending quotas are mandatory and should be strictly observed, the newspaper quoted Mr. Li as saying. He declined to disclose the exact figures.

The policy appears to reverse one announced by Premier Li Peng last July aimed at stimulating lagging production. That plan included lower interest rates and more loans.

"It's just a stop-and-go economy," said a Chinese economist. "It's the only method they have."

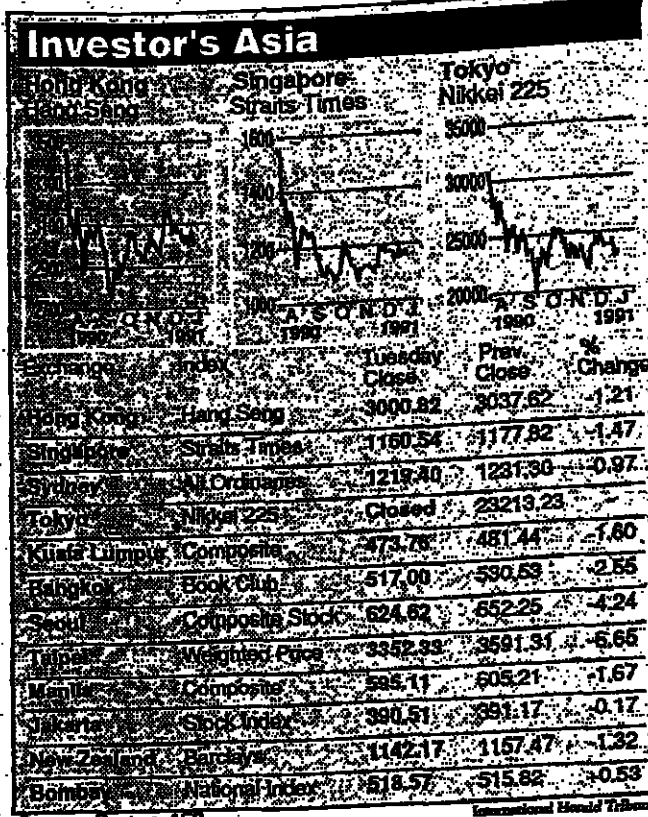
The currency would be kept stable, Xinhua news agency quoted Mr. Li as saying. However, there have been rumors of another devaluation of the yuan to six to the U.S. dollar, from the current 5.2. Chinese journalists said privately. The last devaluation was in November, when the currency was moved to 5.2 from 4.7 to the dollar.

China's economy, in addition to the possibility of renewed inflation, has to contend with falling state enterprises that are draining national fiscal resources with the huge subsidies they need to stay afloat.

Many state-run enterprises, still regarded as the backbone of the socialist economy, are "empty shells," the official Economic Daily said Tuesday.

The article demanded that enterprises be given more responsibility over their own operations and that management controls be tightened. Otherwise "hidden losses" would continue to mount, it said.

It estimated that 63 percent of all state enterprises had hidden losses.



## Decline in TNT Stock Tied to Gulf Conflict

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

SYDNEY — The share price of TNT Ltd. fell below one Australian dollar (77 U.S. cents) on Tuesday for the first time in more than six years, as investors focused on soaring fuel costs due to the Gulf crisis and worried about TNT's debt.

Meanwhile, shares in Rupert Murdoch's heavily indebted News Corp. plunged to almost a year's low because of fears about the company's solvency.

Stock in TNT, a transportation group, sank 17 Australian cents, or 15 percent of its value, to close Tuesday at 97 cents — the lowest point since October 1984.

The fall followed the announcement that it had a 43.8 million New Zealand dollar (\$26 million) operating loss for the year ended June 30, compared with a \$2.5 million dollar loss the previous year. Ansett is part of the Ansett Australia group, which is 50 percent owned by TNT and 50 percent by News Corp. A tax credit

of 14.4 million New Zealand dollars trimmed Ansett's bottom-line loss to 29.4 million dollars.

Ansett's revenue rose 65 percent to 152.7 million New Zealand dollars from 92.6 million dollars.

Last October, the joint chairman of Ansett Australia, Sir Peter Abeles, denied speculation that the company would cease operating in New Zealand. He said it was planning to expand. And on Dec. 31, News Corp. denied rumors it was about to sell its share of Ansett.

Shares in News Corp. sank 50 Australian cents on Tuesday, to 3.80 Australian dollars — their lowest level since April 1985 — after plunging 68 cents on Monday.

Brokers blamed News Corp.'s fall on its recent admission, in a filing with the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission, that it would be unable to meet loan payments by June 30 unless a refinancing package is approved.

(Reuters, AFP)

## Bombay Shuts Stock Market

Agence France-Press

BOMBAY — India's leading share market, the Bombay Stock Exchange, announced a sudden two-day closure on Tuesday and Wednesday due to the threat of war in the Gulf region.

The decision was taken at an emergency meeting of the governing board on Tuesday morning in Bombay, India's principle commercial city, the Press Trust of India said.

Market officials attributed the unprecedented closure to fears that the market, which has been under heavy pressure since just before the new year, would collapse.

## Indian Inflation Rate Soars to a 10-Year High

Reuters

NEW DELHI — India's inflation rate is soaring to its highest level in 10 years, as rising oil prices and domestic political problems bite into the economy, analysts and industry officials said Tuesday.

They said India's year-on-year inflation is forecast to shoot past 13 percent in the current fiscal year, which ends March 31. The inflation rate last year was an official 9.1 percent.

"Prices do not look like they are going to ease in the near future," said T.K. Bhanu, secretary general of the Punjab Haryana Delhi Chamber of Commerce and Industry. "The high rate of inflation has its own momentum. It will lead to high wages, which will in turn fuel further inflation," he said.

The Weighted Price Index, a key

price barometer, was 11.7 percent higher at the end of December 1990 than a year earlier.

India's inflation rate has until now been largely determined by agricultural production. It shot to a high of 17.3 percent in April 1981, following a drought, and eased to 5.1 percent in the 1987 fiscal year before another drought pushed it up to 10.7 percent at the end of fiscal 1988.

Ironically, the inflation rate is rising now, in a third consecutive year of bumper grain harvests. Prices began climbing across the board after the government slapped a 25 percent "Gulf surcharge" on domestic gasoline prices last October following the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. India imports about 40 percent of its oil.

To check a worsening balance-of-

payments deficit, India imposed levies on various raw materials such as steel, which had a filter-down effect on prices, especially of manufactured goods, economists said.

"Depending on the Gulf situation, the government may also take further hard measures which could affect prices even more," said Y.P. Srivastava, senior economist at the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry.

The problems have been compounded by Hindu-Muslim clashes and growing separatist violence in three states, which have brought down two governments in 13 months.

Prime Minister Chandra Shekhar, whose minority government took over last November, is widely expected to call an election by November this year at the latest.

"If elections are to be held soon, prices will go higher as a lot of money comes into circulation during an election," Mr. Srivastava said. "Money supply will go up."

The Gulf crisis and domestic political unrest come at a time when the Indian economy is in serious trouble, with the foreign debt touching \$65 billion.

India's trade deficit in April-November 1990 touched 71.9 billion rupees (\$3.9 billion), its widest ever for an eight-month period, up 26.6 billion from the same 1989 period.

Its foreign-exchange reserves fell to \$2.04 billion in October 1990 — barely enough for a month's imports — and government officials are negotiating for a large loan with the International Monetary Fund.

## ADVERTISEMENT

## INTERNATIONAL FUNDS

Quotations supplied by funds listed. Most asset value quotations are supplied by the Funds listed with the exception of some quotes based on issue price.

The market symbols indicate frequency of quotations supplied: (D) - daily; (W) - weekly; (B) - bi-monthly; (M) - monthly; (Q) - quarterly; (Y) - yearly; (N) - not available.

January 15, 1991

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## SPORTS

# Indiana Overcomes Fouls And Then Purdue, 65-62

**The Associated Press**  
For 11 minutes, Eric Anderson, Calbert Cheaney and the chances of No. 3-ranked Indiana were on the brink of disqualification. The two leading scorers for the Hoosiers had each picked up a fourth foul in the opening

## COLLEGE BASKETBALL

minutes of the second half of Monday night's game in West Lafayette, Indiana. They were then seated just a few chairs from their coach, Bob Knight, as Purdue began a furious rally that turned a 14-point deficit into a four-point lead.

Re-enter Anderson and Cheaney.  
"As long as we stayed even or were ahead, we wouldn't have put them back in," Knight said. "We had a chance to lose it. That's why we put them back in."

Indiana (15-1) went on to a 65-62 victory, the Hoosiers' 13th in a row. They are 3-0 in the Big Ten. Purdue dropped to 10-4 and 2-2.

"I've got to really be pleased," Knight said. "I think our team has grown a little bit when it can lead and go behind and then come back and win. I don't think we could have done that a year ago. I think that's a good sign."

Anderson finished with 15 points, and Cheaney with 14. Chuckie White topped the Boilermakers with 17 points.

No. 12 Duke 89, Wake Forest 67: Thomas Hill had a career-high 22 points and Christian Laettner added 21 as the Blue Devils (13-3, 3-1) cruised to an Atlantic Coast Conference victory at home in Durham, North Carolina. The loss for Wake Forest (7-5, 2-2) was its 11th in 12 meetings with Duke.

No. 15 East Tennessee State 96, Citadel 76: In Johnson City, Tennessee, the Buccaneers (13-1, 3-0), who haven't lost since the second game of the season at Arizona, quickly broke open the Southern Conference game and led by as much as 29 points. Marty Story with 23 points and Rodney English with 21 each had a career-high effort for East Tennessee State.

Villanova 65, No. 19 Georgetown 56: Villanova (9-6, 2-3) ended a five-game losing streak to the Hoyas by making 10 consecutive free throws in the final 2:04 in Philadelphia. Villanova last beat its Big East rival on Feb. 1, 1988. Georgetown (10-4, 2-2) was again without starting forward Alonzo Mourning, out with a foot injury.

No. 21 New Mexico State 82, Fresno State 77: Reggie Jordan, who began the game shooting 49 percent from the free-throw line, made five of six foul shots in the final minutes as the Aggies (12-1, 0-0) won in Fresno, California. Jordan scored a career-high 29 points as New Mexico State rallied from a 12-point deficit to defeat Fresno State (7-8, 2-4) in the Big West game.



Calbert Cheaney (40), one of Indiana's leading scorers, swatted the ball away from Craig Riley of Purdue, but was called for his third foul on the play.

# Referees: The Sorrow, the Pity

*International Herald Tribune*

LONDON — Why are soccer referees treated like fairground ducks, there to be shot at by every Tom, Dick and Harry? The man in black has always been the butt of spectators' jokes, but today he is being squeezed between the devil of dissenting players and the downright betrayal of support he had traditionally enjoyed from officialdom.

Ever since the 1990 World Cup, he has not been allowed to be his own man. Instead, he is being ordered to carry out a purge against the malice and the cheating of players distorting the spirit of a great game.

Any rational observer will back the essence of a directive from FIFA, the international ruler, declaring that time is up for cynical destroyers. Some of us even incurred FIFA's wrath for deploring its overbearing rejection of a similar crackdown in England eight years ago. But let that pass, which is

more than unscrupulous defenders do any forward going for the goal. To push, pull or back down an opponent has become condoned; worse, it has acquired the sobriquet "professional foul."

Nothing is more inappropriate. But it grew in the culture of the '80s, and of course there is pain, confusion and outcry when suddenly a generation taught to cheat finds itself staring red cards in the face.

It is the pain of exorcism. Players are paying for what a leading Paris heart specialist, Guy Abitbol, first described in this column as accepting the deliberate foul as "just another technical skill."

The good doctor's perception was dismissed elsewhere as Utopian meddling with a man's game. Instead of the concept of giving and taking the knocks of a collision sport, the so-called professional foul symbolized the ruin of ideals without which there is no sport.

The wheel has turned its fullest circle in England, where the first crackdown was aborted. England, winner of FIFA's 1990 fair play awards for team and individual, has been shocked by 136 red cards in half a league season. This far exceeds any season except that of 1982-3, the time when English referees tried to eradicate the cynical foul.

Ironically, English soccer is having such a boom in popularity that, for the first time since the national team won the 1966 World Cup, the sport appears likely to attract 20 million spectators during a season. This surge is inspired by the euphoria inspired by the national team's having reached the semifinals in Italy, and no doubt by the fact that the lid seems finally to have been put on hooliganism.

By no means all the dismissals have been for the cynical foul. But 35 have been, and the mistrust between players and referees has increased the number of dismissals ordered off for abusive dissent. Among them was Paul Gascoigne, the tearful hero of England's summer.

The uproar is inevitable and must be weathered if the game is to come clean. The pattern is reflected in Italy, where Napoli goalkeeper Giovanni Galli, the 40th first division player expelled this season, admitted that he collided with Juventus sweeper Julio Cesar, but swears that he didn't intend to and cannot comprehend what is happening to him.

It is the same in many languages. The benefit of

doubt has swung from the offender in Spain, too, where eight red cards were issued last winter and 48 have been so far this season. In Germany, there has been a 30 percent increase.

The exception, one that will please Dr. Abitbol, is France. For all the financial disgrace and the threat of a players' strike, France has had fewer expulsions. Why? Apparently because the French surreptitiously began their cleanup 18 months ago. In consequence, players think before they lunge.

Complaint is loud in England. The players' union argues that FIFA's directive is too loose and that the ejections for "innocuous" tripping or for shirt tugging present a false impression. "If we are not careful," warns the union's chief executive, Gordon Taylor, "half the finest players in England will end up in the stands every Saturday afternoon."

That is not one of his more considered statements. Players blast that referees, paid about \$200 per match compared to the players' thousands, are inconsistent, that some uncompromisingly send off offenders while others turn a blind eye.

Well, inconsistency is no stranger with human beings. During the World Cup, while FIFA's president, Joao Havelange, said that "the referees in this tournament have done well in both interpretation and application," his general secretary, Joseph Blatter, pilloried the game officials.

Blatter has taken new aim. He wants professional referees, and younger referees, with an implied criticism that is unfair to José Ramon Styles, a superb 45-year-old Brazilian, and England's George Courtney, 48. Their futures are augmented by acquired wisdom in sifting the villain from the player merely mistiming his tackle.

Courtney, as it happens, is undergoing trial by television at home after having failed to send off a player for what arguably was a "professional" foul. Courtney did not consider it to have been a calculated foul, but officialdom, having suspended two referees for not carrying out the new diet, placed Courtney in the stocks.

England's 94 league referees and linesmen met last Sunday. They were handed a paper entitled "Uniformity, Consistency, Alternative Styles Among Referees," in which a league official wrote: "Less experienced, recently appointed referees tend to be more technically correct than their more experienced colleagues in the application of the laws."

Referees are discouraged from speaking publicly, but Courtney says, "You cannot have robot referees. I regard myself as an individual just as much as I regard players as individuals."

Careful George! Think what happened to France's Michel Vautrot and Mexico's Edgardo Codena Mendez, whom FIFA chose to start and end the World Cup.

Codena quit after having been lambasted by everyone up to and including Argentina's president, Carlos Menem, for sending off two Argentines in the final. Vautrot has also blown his last whistle, lamenting, "We were under orders to be strict. I did my best to play it by the book, but that was not the real Vautrot. I shall think with great sympathy of my colleagues who carry on."

Sympathy? These are men trying, for love or glory, to stem the sordid mess. Either we back them or we lose the best of them and the fallout in my country alone is 4,500 a season, a sixth of those persuaded to have a go at this thankless task.

Rob Hughes is on the staff of the Sunday Times.

# Bradshaw: A Stunning Record in a Losing Effort

By Samantha Stevenson

*New York Times Service*

SAN DIEGO — Only days after he had scored 72 points to break Pete Maravich's 21-year-old Division I single-game scoring record, Kevin Bradshaw sat quietly in a hotel lobby listening to his coach, Gary Zarecky, trying to find ways to play for the rest of the season.

Bradshaw's school, U.S. International University in San Diego, declared bankruptcy Dec. 20 and suspended all of its athletic programs. But after some reconsideration, the basketball team was allowed to complete its season, although the assistant coaches were dismissed.

This week, the U.S. International Gulls, who have won only one of their 19 games this season, flew to Rock Hill, South Carolina, to play Winthrop College and then to Miami to play Florida International.

On Monday night, Bradshaw, the leading U.S. college scorer with 33.9 points a game, got 59 points and 11 rebounds, but U.S. International fell, 106-94, to Florida International and lost its 14th straight.

Zarecky's wife, Joan, a flight attendant for USAir had used her pass, as she has done most of the season, to accompany the team so she can help drive, plan pregame meals, and wash the players' clothes. Zarecky's daughters, Tara, 16, and Toni, 14, who are on a school break, are helping on the bench with water and towels.

Last week, after a late-night phone call from Zarecky, who said the university had cut back the team's meal money for the rest of the season, a local car dealer agreed to donate \$5,000 to help. The Gulls practice in a warehouse, because the school has no gymnasium.

"It's nice," Bradshaw said. "Of course, in the winter we have no heat."

Zarecky's first priority has been taking care of his players, and his source of pride is in their 75 percent graduation rate. He has 11 on the team, losing one to a lack of hot water and heat in the dormitory.

"It's hard on the young players thinking about their future," said Bradshaw, a senior majoring in

physical education. "It's depressing and devastating for them. They're so young. To see that no one else has quit is really great."

"I try to talk to them. There's only so much you can say. Truth of the matter is, they have to find another school next year. All I can do is stay positive."

Bradshaw, 24, knows about dreams. He grew up in Gainesville, Florida, the oldest of five children. His father, Woodrow, worked as an electrician at the University of Florida and his mother, Eva, was an elementary school teacher.

His parents still live on South-east Street, a middle-class neighborhood with trees and backyards. A half-mile down the road is Sugar Hill, a poor neighborhood. At Sugar Hill, Bradshaw learned to play basketball and forged a friendship with Vernon Maxwell, now in the National Basketball Association, serving his obligation after graduating from the Naval Academy.

"I first saw him in the summer leagues here," Zarecky said. "I loved to watch him shoot. I didn't

sophomore year, he left school, married his girlfriend and joined the navy."

"I was confused," said Bradshaw, who then was 21 and 6 feet, 1 inch (1.85 meters). "I was disappointed that people in my hometown had written me off because I wasn't playing at a big school and getting recognition on television. Best thing was to get married, make some money to support my family. I thought I'd go in the service and stay in 20 years and get fat and raise a family."

Bradshaw, divorced five months later, was stationed in San Diego and didn't play basketball for a year. It wasn't until a pick-up game that his fellow sailors noticed he had some ability. His chief petty officer got him a tryout with the All-Navy team and, soon, Bradshaw, who had grown to 6-6, was playing alongside David Robinson, serving his obligation after graduating from the Naval Academy.

"I first saw him in the summer leagues here," Zarecky said. "I loved to watch him shoot. I didn't



Bradshaw: "It's depressing."

have much money for talent, but I got Kevin."

Bradshaw petitioned the Defense Department for an early release to enter U.S. International for the 1989-90 school year.

"It's incredible," said Maxwell, who hopes Bradshaw will join him in the NBA after the June draft. "Yeah, 72 points. You can't find people up here with us on a good night who can do that. That record will stand for a long time."

# BOOKS

## NOTHING EVER HAPPENS TO THE BRAVE: The Story of Martha Gellhorn

By Carl Rollyson. 544 pages. \$24.95. St. Martin's Press Inc., 175 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10010.

Reviewed by Jane Howard

MANY Midwesterners are stay-at-homes by nature, afflicted or blessed, depending on how you look at it. Uproot them for any length of time and they suffer horizon deprivation. Other Midwesterners, itchy-footed, can scarcely wait to put one of the war correspondents and fiction writer Martha Gellhorn, born in St. Louis in 1908, who in five decades of reporting, as her biographer Carl Rollyson says, has covered "virtually every conflict from the Spanish Civil War to Vietnam."

Now in her 80s, Gellhorn lives in a cottage in North Wales where she is apparently still as glamorous as, in different ways, were the subjects of Rollyson's earlier biographies, Marjorie Monro and Lillian Hellman. When he set out to do this book he got no cooperation from Gellhorn, who said she wished to retain her "lifelong obscurity."

For a self-described recluse, she has been uncommonly active. Last spring's issue of *Granta* carried her long and impressive report on "The Invasion of Panama." She has written six novels, six story collections, three books of nonfiction and scores of magazine articles. She has been closely associated, maritally and otherwise, with some of the least obscure names of our time.

Before she became the third of Ernest Hemingway's four wives, she consorted with Bertrand de Jouvenel, who had been initiated into the mysteries of manhood by the novelist Colette. Later Gellhorn was the wife of T. S. Matthews, a Time editor who didn't sound any more like a Midwestern native, though he was, than she did. "Their speech," Rollyson writes, "had a cultivated mid-Atlantic accent that made it impossible to identify them with any particular region. Their conversation was very bright, very witty. This book cries for more examples of this wit."

But if Gellhorn's tale is told lamely at times, it is still quite a story. Her early travels were smoothed with a letter from Franklin Delano Roosevelt to "All American Foreign Service Officers" requesting "every assistance" for the correspondent, whom the president described as "an old friend of Mrs. Roosevelt's and mine."

Eleanor Roosevelt and Gellhorn's mother Edna had worked together on social causes and programs, and both "came from a generation more admirable than Martha's own." They had an incredible capacity to make people feel accepted and worthwhile.

As the Roosevelt's protégée, Martha had the run first of the Executive Mansion in Albany and later of the White House, where the first lady bestowed on her "a steady, compassionate, but sober interest in her affairs."

Rollyson became interested in Gellhorn while researching his book on Hemingway, whom Gellhorn here dismisses, along with the poet Stephen Spender, as "apocryphal": falsifiers of history who build themselves up or denigrate their famous subjects. "These two, in Gellhorn's view, both 'had claimed important relationships with Hemingway that the facts did not support.'"

Her own relationship with Hemingway could exasperate them both. "I knew you'd get her, daughter," he said in 1937 when she finally and laboriously managed to join him in Spain — no thanks to him — "because I fixed it so you could."

She thought he was too fat; he thought she was too fastidious and that she "loves humanity but can't stand people." He did tell his cronies she was "off to take the pulse of the nation."

Pulse-taking rather than domesticity has always been more Gellhorn's style. Like many journalists, she is most comfortable in short-term, middle-distance relationships, when she has an important-sounding reason to rush off somewhere else before people can find out what she's really like.

Her son, Sandy, adopted from an Italian orphanage when he was 15 months old, did not fare much better. "Peace,"

she had decided when World War II was over, "meant somehow healing the wounds of maimed and homeless children." A single parent whose trade was writing, she reasoned, had to be better than no parent at all. But Mrs. Roosevelt, considering the child's life years later, thought Sandy "was suffering from his mother's total absorption in herself."

Gellhorn's egotism appalled her. In many respects Gellhorn has been more taken with ideas than with realities. "One of her friends has suggested that her interest in sex was more literary than personal, that she was more excited by Hemingway the writer than by Hemingway the man, that ambition rather than passion had inspired her marriage." The physical side of marriage, Rollyson

writes elsewhere, "seemed 'the least important part of the relationship' to her. She had the best times with men who were her chums, 'chaps' who had no special claim on her."

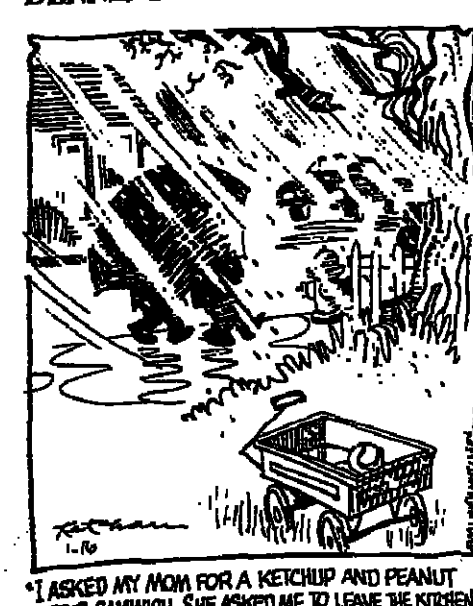
"It's incredible," said Maxwell, who hopes Bradshaw will join him in the NBA after the June draft. "Yeah, 72 points. You can't find people up here with us on a good night who can do that. That record will stand for a long time."

Jane Howard, author of "Margaret Mead: A Life," wrote this for The Washington Post.

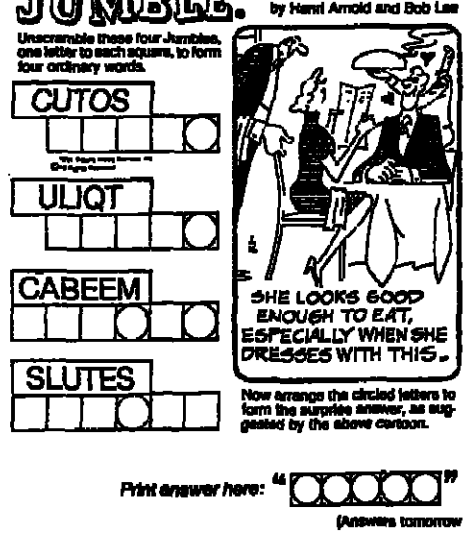
## BEST SELLERS

The New York Times			Last Week on List		
Fiction			Weeks on List		
1	THE PLAINS OF PASSAGE, by John Edgar Wideman	1	13		
2	FOUR PAST MIDNIGHT, by Stephen King	2	16		
3	DAZZLE, by Judith Krantz	3	18		
4	THE WITNESS, by Michael Crichton	4	20		
5	THE POLAR EXPRESS, by Chris Van Allsburg	5	21		
6	MEMORIES OF MIDNIGHT, by Sidney Sheldon	6	21		
7	THE BURDEN OF PROOF, by Michael Crichton	7	7		
8	THE SECRET PILGRIM, by John Edgar Wideman	8	31		
9	THE STAND, by Stephen King	9	31		
10	LADY BOSS, by Jackie Collins	10	12		
11	CARL'S CHRISTMAS, by Alexander Dumas	11	5		
12	FOSSILS, by A.S. Byatt	12	5		
13	LONGSHOT, by Dick Francis	13	4		
14	THE FOURTH K, by Mario Puzo	14	1		
Nonfiction			Weeks on List		
1	A LIFE ON THE ROAD, by Charles Kuralt	1	9		
2	THE CIVIL WAR, by Geoffrey C. Ward with Ric Burns and Ken Burns	2	14		
3	BO KNOWS BO, by Bo Jackson	3	9		
4	IRON JOHN, by Robert Bly	4	8		
5	ALL I REALLY NEED TO KNOW I LEARNED IN KINDERGARTEN, by Robert Fulghum	5	9		
6	MILLIE'S BOOK, as dictated to Robert Bly	6	16		
7	THE CAT AND THE CURMUDGEON, by Cleveland Amory	7	13		
8	SUDDENLY, by George F. Will	8	17		
9	AN AMERICAN LIFE, by Ronald Reagan	9	8		
10	IT WAS ON FIRE WHEN I LAY DOWN ON IT, by Robert Fulghum	10	12		
11	SUDDENLY, by George F. Will	11	3		
12	ALL I REALLY NEED TO KNOW I LEARNED IN KINDERGARTEN, by Robert Fulghum	12	9		
13	POWERSHIFT, by Anna Tetterton	13	9		
14	YOU JUST DON'T UNDERSTAND, by Deborah Tannen	14	23		
15	FRIDAY NIGHT LIGHTS, H.G. Blesinger	15	10		
Advice, How-to and Miscellaneous			Weeks on List		
1	FINANCIAL SELF-DEFENSE, by Charles J. O'Connell	1	6		
2	HOMECOMING, by John Bradshaw	2	22		
3	THE FRUGAL GOURMET ON OUR IMMIGRANT ANCESTORS, by Jeff Smith	3	8		
4	THE GREAT WALDO SEARCH, by Martin Handford	4	56		
5	WHERE'S WALDO? by Martin Handford	5	15		

## DENNIS THE MENACE



## JUMBLE



## BLONDIE



## GARFIELD



## REX MORGAN



السلامة







## OBSERVER

## Have a Nice Age

By Russell Baker  
NEW YORK — What an eerie New Year. Natalie Wood alive, strayed bullets, insolent foreign rulers "asses" threatened with American kicking. And by a president, no less, of the United States.

The quotation marks above are, yes, self-conscious. They betray a fuddy-duddy. Shameful but true it is: I wince when presidents express war aims in schoolboy bluster.

Unfit for this dynamic, nitty-gritty, down-and-dirty, pulsing-with-passion, tell-it-like-it-is age, you might say of me, and rightly so. Like Miniver Cheevy, unassigned to the wonders of modern times, I too assail the tide of history, denouncing mighty progress itself for giving us presidents who fancy themselves fierce international assassins and, even worse, say so.

A closer attention to duty might produce more presidential concern about the stray-bullet crisis at home and less redemptive about putting boots in boots abroad. Hardly a day passes without news of some rampaging toddler, dozing grandmother or casual pedestrian hit by a "stray bullet."

Cowboys of old had to deal with stray cattle and city people with stray dogs. Now, the age of the stray bullet. Oh, it's a hard age to love. Miniver Cheevy had a point.

No, it doesn't matter who Miniver Cheevy was. Like poor Natalie Wood, Miniver is long dead. Unlike lucky Natalie, however, he is not living secretly in a hot climate. I read it in the grocery press while waiting in the checkout line just this morning: Natalie Wood Alive. Reports of Natalie's Long Ago Death Greatly Exaggerated.

Here is one of the age's cheerier marvels: the rising incidence of eternal life for stars. Glamorous but dead Americans recently found by the grocery press to be alive long after coroners pronounced them dead include Grace Kelly, Elvis Presley and President Kennedy.

Now Natalie Wood. Of course this is nonsense, and so what? What's exciting is the appeal this story has for modern America, so widely and ungenerously accused of having lost its faith in miracles. It's pretty clear that a lot of Americans are ready to believe in a kind of secular eternity capable of giving the lie to the obituary page,

even though you can't qualify for it without being a famous actor.

President Eisenhower, for instance. Though President Kennedy has been found alive, the grocery press never finds President Eisenhower alive, hunkered down at his Gettysburg farm in heavy disguise, having faked his death to get out of the limelight so he can sit around playing chess in his head to relieve the boredom of being thought dead.

The explanation: Modern America's will to believe in eternal life extends only to film's greatest stars. Mere competence, like Eisenhower's, is not enough to relieve people of the deceased's normal obligation to stay dead.

Can this explain President Bush's use of colorful vulgarity when discussing war? Low talk confers glamour nowadays.

Bush knows about glamour. You can imagine him talking it over with, say, John Sununu:

"Did you ever notice when you go to the supermarket, John, that the newspapers at the checkout counter never have a story about George Washington being found alive in the Andes or living in a barn down around Mount Vernon?"

Sununu: That's because George Washington lacked the glamour necessary to qualify him for eternal death, Mr. President.

Bush: And do you know why he lacked that glamour, John? Because he never said anything macho about the American Revolution. He just fought the damned thing, you mean?

Bush: The Revolution thing, for gosh sakes. He should have said something like, "King George III is going to get his ass kicked."

Sununu: Now you're talking big showbiz, Mr. President.

Bush: And the same applies to that Lincoln fellow.

Sununu: What applies, Mr. President?

Bush: The ass thing. If Lincoln had said, "If Jeff Davis and Bobby Lee don't get back into this Union thing, they're going to get their asses kicked,"

Well, maybe this is farfetched. Still, it's hard to fetch too far when talking about somebody who, when he was asked to name the next best man to be president of the United States, said, "Dan Quayle."

New York Times Service

## Some Are Mourning the Street of Sleaze

By John Tierney  
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — To certain devotees, it became painfully clear in the last week that their Times Square is dead. At West 42d Street's oldest theater, the Victory, stagehands replaced the front three rows of seats — the very seats where filmgoers had watched "Hot Saddle Tramp" and "One-Armed Sholin Temple Master" — with a piazza where Romeo will stand below Juliet's balcony.

Yes, Shakespeare is opening on 42d Street. The Bard is playing The Deuce, as the block west of Times Square is called by its regulars.

The theaters there have been taken over by New York State's Urban Development Corp., and the first new tenant on 42d Street is a "Romeo and Juliet" production under a director from the Royal Shakespeare Company.

Some see this as the first visible triumph in the \$2.5 billion project to redevelop the block that has become an international symbol of vice and street hustle. But others wish they could still watch a one-armed kung fu master.

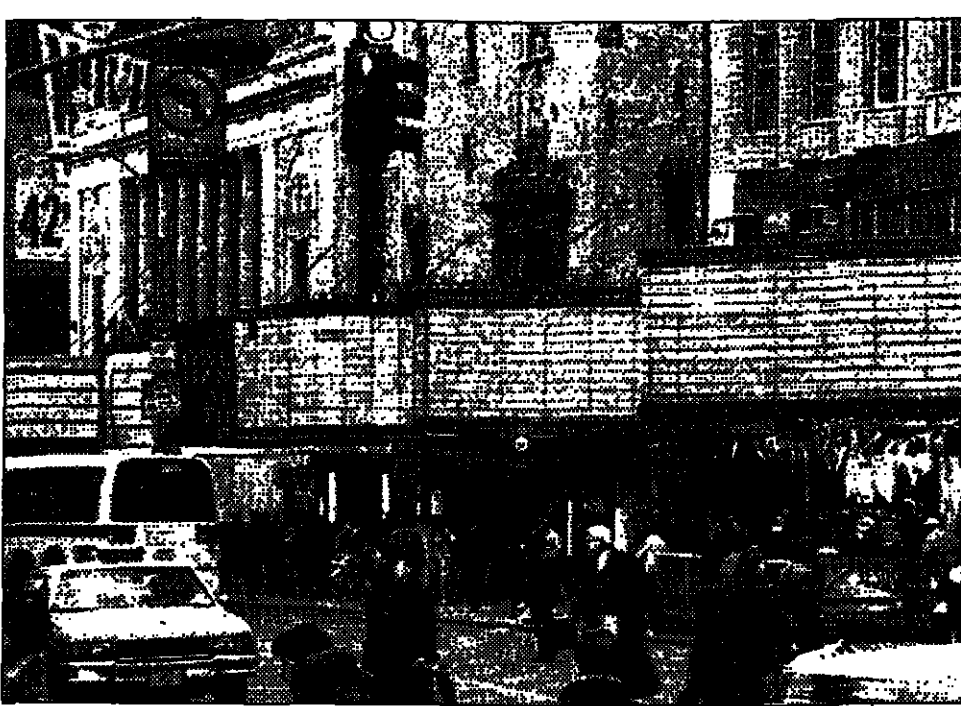
They're angry at the demise of the world's finest concentration of movie theaters devoted to zombies, nymphomaniacs, aliens, chain-saws, surfers, martial artists, cannibals and, of course, women in prison.

The Deuce's fans loved the low-priced triple bills and the steady encouragement shouted to the serial killers on screen.

Some of them, like Frank Henenlotter, the director of "Basket Case," the 1982 cult classic featuring a wicker basket containing the hero's vicious Siamese cat, found their calling on 42d Street.

"When I was cutting classes in high school," said Henenlotter, "that block had films you'd never see anywhere else. It was the underbelly. It was where I grew to love exploitation films. I don't mind them taking out the porno stores, but leave the theaters. Leave the last refuge of dignity."

Henenlotter said he had been inspired by The Deuce's lack of taboos, both on and off screen. He said there was a certain artistic unity in setting "Basket Case" in a seedy Times Square hotel, and



Waiting for Shakespeare: Empty marquees at closed cult-movie theaters on 42d Street.

he returned to 42d Street for his current hit, "Frankenhooker."

"It's about a guy whose girlfriend gets accidentally dismembered under the blades of a berserk lawnmower, so he reassembles her from parts of Times Square prostitutes," Henenlotter explained. "But she comes back as a monster hooker — that's the side effect that isn't planned. She has so much electricity that her clients are reduced to body parts as well. It's charming."

It was a film made to be shown on 42d Street, but it has never played there. There is no room now that eight of The Deuce's theaters have closed, leaving two showing X-rated films and four that usually feature mainstream movies like "Kindergarten Cop."

Soon even the remaining screens are to disappear. The state and city redevelopment plans call for office towers, a hotel, a merchandise mart, and nine theaters restored to the ornate splendor of the 1920s, when New York's elite came to productions like John Barrymore's "Hamlet."

The block's theaters, which

were condemned and taken over by the state development agency last April, are to be restored after an advisory group finishes considering proposals from arts groups that want to move into them permanently.

"Romeo and Juliet," which opens Jan. 27, is produced by a nonprofit group aptly named Theatre for a New Audience. On weekday mornings the subsidized production will play before audiences of schoolchildren.

Tickets for evening performances will cost \$22, a sore point among The Deuce's regulars.

"They're looking to move in a new class of people here," said Wayne Williams, a hospital worker from the Bushwick section of Brooklyn. "They want to get rid of the poor folks. Who's going to pay \$22 to see Shakespeare? I want to pay \$5 to see two karate movies — and man, The Deuce had the best karate movies. This is where I saw 'Mad Monkey Kung Fu.'"

The government redevelopment insist they will put cheap entertainment — perhaps even action movies — back in some theaters,

should be preserved as places where "Charles Bronson can be seen 30 feet high, like God intended."

Briggs also listed one of his favorite memories of The Deuce: a sign on an all-night theater reading, "Admissions Good for 24 Hours Only."

Another leading critic, Michael Weldon, who lives in Manhattan's East Village, stopped by the Victory last week and sadly watched the stagehands getting ready for Shakespeare.

Weldon, whose "Psychotic Encyclopedia of Film" is the B-film bible, looked at the tattered red plastic seats and reminisced about a movie titled "The Incredibly Strange Creatures Who Stopped Living and Became Crazy Mixed-Up Zombies."

"You'd find such quirky little gems on this block," he said. "It was like a Disneyland for trash-film fans. It was one of the main reasons I moved to New York from Cleveland. I know a lot of people were afraid to come to The Deuce, but I never had any problems inside these theaters. For me they had kind of a cozy atmosphere."

In the late 1980s things started to go wrong.

Rick Sullivan, an accountant in Clifton, New Jersey, who edits and publishes "Gore Gazette: Your Guide to Horror, Exploitation, and Sleaze in the New York Metro Area," saw the problem clearly one day in 1987 at the Lyric Theater.

"I was there to review 'Hunters' Blood,' which had just opened a day or two earlier," he said. "As soon as it started, a guy in the theater yelled out, 'My brother Daryl brought this movie home last week on video.' He stood up and pitched a beer can right through the screen. He immediately got thrown out, but everyone applauded him, because he had a point."

"Why pay \$5 at the theater when you can see it at home for \$17? The companies were releasing stuff on video so quickly that there was no reason to go to the theater. People like to blame the government's urban renewal for the theaters' closing, but video was a big part, too. When Daryl's brother pitched that beer can, I knew The Deuce was in trouble."

## PEOPLE

## Reagan 80th Birthday: An All-Star Guest List

Ronald Reagan's 80th birthday will be celebrated by several hundred friends at a party Feb. 6 in Beverly Hills, California. Among those who have accepted the invitation are Margaret Thatcher and Merv Griffin. Liza Minnelli and Lee Greenwood will provide the entertainment.

The John Newbery Medal for the outstanding children's book of 1990 was awarded to Jerry Spinelli, the author of "Maniac Magee." The Randolph Caldecott Medal, honoring the illustrator of the year's most distinguished American picture book for children, went to David Macaulay for "Black and White," which he wrote and illustrated.

The late Iphigene Ochs Sulzberger, central figure in the family that has published The New York Times since 1896, was honored Monday with a \$5 million contribution from her family to her alma mater, Barnard College. Barnard's president, Ellen V. Futter, announced that Centennial Hall, the college's newest dormitory, would be renamed for Sulzberger, who died last February at the age of 97.

The actors Liv Ullmann and Michael York, who had vowed to continue filming "The Prodigal Father" in Israel even if war broke out, have left because their insurance company threatened to cancel their policies. They flew to London with their American director, Zigmund Vilmos. The film's producer, Paul Solomon, said, "They were very sad when they left, and promised to return once things have calmed down."

President George Bush's son, Jeb, is looking for a maid who is a legal U.S. resident. A maid who had worked at Bush's Miami home for three years was deported to her native Honduras last week. Bush was out jogging when the immigration agents showed up. A spokesman for the immigration service said the maid had used up all of her appeals. Bush called the next day, the spokesman said, adding, "They were only concerned the lady got home safely. After three years, she kind of came to be a part of the family."

## TODAY'S BUSINESS MESSAGE CENTER

Appears on page 6

## MOVING

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## ANNOUNCEMENTS

LE GORDON BISH - Wednesday evening cooking demonstrations. English Jan. 16, 23, 30; Feb. 6, 13, 20; Mar. 6, 13, 20. French Jan. 20, 27, 24; Feb. 7, 14, 21; Mar. 14, 21, 28. 8 rue Louis Dufrenoy, 75015 Paris. Tel: 45 77 36 66

## AUTOMOBILE MARKET

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